



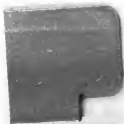
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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

PARIS.—PRINTED BY FAIN AND THUNOT, 23, RUE RACINE.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BY
THOMAS MOORE.

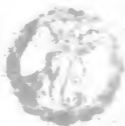
IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.



PARIS :
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1846





TO
THOMAS BOYSE,
OF BANNOW,
THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,
BY
HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,
THOMAS MOORE.



ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE PUBLISHERS.

In presenting to the Public the last volume of this work, the Publishers avail themselves of the opportunity of a few prefatory words to explain the circumstances under which it was undertaken. When the Cabinet Cyclopædia was commenced, it was intended that the series of works it was meant to contain should begin with the History of England, in three volumes, by Sir James Mackintosh; to be followed by a History of Scotland, in two volumes, by Sir Walter Scott; and then by a brief account of Ireland, in one volume, by Mr. Thomas Moore.

The work of Sir Walter was despatched at once; Sir James Mackintosh had published three volumes of his England when he was snatched away by death; and the four volumes of the History of

Ireland completes the whole Series of the Cabinet Cyclopædia.

On considering the nature of the work they had undertaken, the Publishers were not long in adopting the conviction that a History of *modern* Ireland was but little wanted; that already, in all the popular Histories of England, ample summaries of Irish affairs are to be found; and that, by writers such as Hume, Lingard, and Hallam, no event of any importance in Ireland's modern History has been left uncommemorated. A "History of Ireland," therefore, "from the earliest kings of that realm down to its last chief," occupying, as it does, ground hitherto untrodden, will, it is hoped, fill up a vacuum long felt to exist, and be found not the least interesting work in the Historical Series of the Cabinet Cyclopædia.

Paternoster Row, June, 1846.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE

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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XLVII.

EDWARD VI.

Acknowledgment of the king's supremacy by the native chiefs. — Jurisdictions assigned to the chieftains. — Contentions between the lord-deputy and the earl of Ormond. — Dismissal of the chancellor Alen. — The earl of Ormond poisoned. — Military administration of sir William Bellingham. — The chiefs O'Moore and O'Connor. — Reduction of Leix and Offaley. — Submission of the natives to the English courts of law. — The earls of Desmond. — Restlessness and impatience of the Irish under English rule. — Intrigues with foreign powers. — French envoys in Ireland. — Venantius, archbishop of Armagh. — Pledge of the native chieftains of allegiance to France. — Introduction of the new liturgy into Ireland. — Motley state of religious affairs. — Divisions among the clergy. — Conference. — Controversy of the mass. — Plunder by the soldiery. — Interval of tranquillity. — Shane O'Neill. — Family feuds. — Tardy progress of the Reformed Faith. — Confusion of religious rites.

[A. D. 1546.] The skill and address shown by Sentleger, in bringing so many of the great native chiefs to lend their assent to that first step of the new scheme of religious reform, the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, rendered his services highly useful in the new measures about to be taken for the general establishment of the Reformed Faith. Nor was it only by skilful favours to the higher ranks of the natives, that this able

minister had won his way in the public esteem. An earnest desire to elevate the character of the people in general was manifest in most of his measures; and as he himself, with just pride, put the question, "When before did Irishmen so well obey the king's commandments, or do so little harm to his Majesty's faithful subjects?"

With the same enlightened trust in right and justice, as being the safest as well as the noblest policy, he advised, in several instances, that jurisdictions should be given to the chiefs within their own "countries;" and by him also the example was first set of entrusting to natives the responsible office of sheriff. Even in the turbulent province of Munster, a sheriff appointed by Sentleger, was now executing the king's process; while one of the O'Tooles—a name connected from time immemorial with deeds of blood and rapine—was creditably exercising the office of sheriff of the county of Dublin, among those wild regions of Wicklow, where, until this time, the name or nature of such an office had never been known.

The course of reform thus usefully entered upon by the lord-deputy had, towards the close of the preceding reign, experienced considerable interruption from the angry contention in which he was then embroiled with the earl of Ormond. To come at the grounds of this rash quarrel, the lord-deputy and the earl were summoned to England, together with Alen, the lord-chancellor, who from his well-known habits of mischief, was strongly suspected of being at the bottom of all this strife. A strict inquiry was accordingly instituted, the result of which appears to have early proved that to Alen's intrigues was solely owing all the entanglement of discord in which the counsels of the Irish government had been lately involved. By this timely exposure, the way was smoothed for a reconciliation between the two noble disputants; while the baffled chancellor was not only dismissed from his high office, but having, as was strongly suspected, still graver offences to answer for, was committed to the Fleet Prison.

It was but a short time after these stormy proceedings that the earl of Ormond, still in the strength and spirit of manhood, was suddenly snatched away from the scene of his toils and honours by being poisoned in the course of a banquet at Ely House, in Holborn; while at the same time, sixteen of the persons waiting on him fell, in like manner, victims to this deadly feast.

The same good fortune that attended the authorities of the English Pale, in having so steady a hand as Sentleger's to steer their civil policy, was no less experienced by them in the wise choice ⁽¹⁾ made of sir William Bellingham to conduct their military administration. But a far more stern system of rule began now to be exercised than had marked the latter years of the preceding reign; and the first service required of Bellingham, in his capacity of captain-general, afforded a sample of the sort of policy about to be adopted towards the natives in general. Taking advantage of some symptoms of outbreak which had lately appeared among the O'Moores and O'Connors, — two powerful septs of Leinster, — this active officer, who had brought with him from England an army of 600 horse and 400 foot, joined forthwith the army of the deputy, and both marched with their united forces to the offending districts. Of the wantonly cruel acts that followed this inroad, accounts have reached us as well through the colouring medium of our own native annals as in the records left by the English themselves; and from both these sources it may be clearly collected that, without any previous process of trial, or the intervention of any law but that of the sword, the two chiefs O'Moore and O'Connor were declared traitors; their lands made forfeit to the crown, and their sept or followers all unhoused and dispersed. ⁽²⁾ Whether subsequently any inquiry was made into the particulars of this wanton invasion, does not clearly appear. But the lord-deputy, being soon after summoned to England, took along with

(1) Hooker. Cox.

(2) Davies.

him the two chiefs O'Moore and O'Connor, and these lords having made their submission, the king received them, we are told, into favour, and bestowed upon each a yearly pension of 100*l.* out of the exchequer.

It is but fair to observe, that this sweeping act of spoliation, however flagrant, and, in itself, wholly indefensible, smoothed the way for, and greatly facilitated, that useful reform effected in the following reign, by which the territories of Leix and Offaley were reduced into two several counties, and thus brought within the jurisdiction of the English law.

Among the causes at this time operating to bring the native race gradually into subjection, there was one originating among themselves, and springing naturally out of their country's customs, which conduced as peaceably, and at the same time as effectually, towards that object as their watchful rulers could desire. This new help to the views of the government arose from the willingness beginning to be manifested by the natives to submit their differences among themselves to the English courts of law, instead of abiding, as they did formerly, by their old Brehon jurisdiction. A yet further step was gained towards this important object,—the subjection of the native gentry to the rule of English law,—by the readiness shown on the part of many of the petty chiefs to transfer to the crown the submission and allegiance which they had hitherto paid to their superior lords. Thus, in the instance of Maguire of Fermanagh, a chief dependent on the great O'Neill, some serious differences having arisen between them, the case was referred by Maguire to the lord-deputy and council, who, on receiving his submission, released him from all further dependence on O'Neill, and admitted him to the king's protection and peace. Nor was it only the petty chiefs—the second order of land-proprietors—that thus availed themselves of the sanctions of English law. Some of the higher lords and gentry adopted the same prudent plan, and sought, in like manner, protection for their large posses-

sions, by placing them under the safeguard of the crown. With this view, in the third year of the present reign, the dynast O'Carrol, lord of Ely, surrendered his country to the king, and had it regranted to him by letters patent, together with the title of baron of Ely.

Among the actors that crowd the stage of Irish history, at this period, the earls of Desmond, from their high station, lordly wealth, and wayward courses, occupy a space to which neither their worth nor public services fairly entitle them. Even of their wealth, to which they mainly owed their personal influence, so reckless had they always been, that the earl James, as we have seen, was forced to request of the late king to provide him with robes to wear in parliament; not being able himself to purchase even raiment for common use. In relation to this lord, a curious incident is said to have occurred, which showed, that if in pride and waywardness he was fully worthy of his self-willed race, he now found in Bellingham a ruler that even a Desmond must not disobey. Some public event having occurred, which required the presence of the great Irish lords in Dublin, the earl of Desmond, who was one of those summoned, refused to obey the order. Whereupon, Bellingham, without a moment's delay, set out with a small guard of horse, for Munster, and finding the earl quietly seated by his fire-side, announced civilly the object of his visit, and carried him off with him to Dublin.

Though rarely, if ever, it had been the good fortune of Ireland to enjoy so long a period of peace as fell to her lot during the latter years of Henry VIII., still her impatience under the yoke of English rule continued to be as restless as ever; and there were now signs of storm and change in the political horizon, to which the whole native population looked with feverish hope. The prospect of weak and divided counsels which the accession of so youthful a sovereign held forth; the late renewal of the war with Scotland; the threats held forth of dragooning the Irish into the creed lately adopted by their hated

masters;—all these sources of misrule and mischief were looked to eagerly by the disaffected, at once sharpening their sense of injury, and awakening in them hopes of speedy revenge. Nor was it any secret to foreign powers that such was the critical state of the relationship between England and her sister isle. On the contrary, it was always counted upon, in every calculation of the chances of success in a meditated war with that power; and on the resumption at this time of hostilities between England and France, notwithstanding that a large fleet under lord Cobham was then cruising in the Irish seas, the French king found means to send, as his special emissary into Ulster, the baron de Fourquevaux, an officer who had served in the Scottish wars, and was now attended by the sieur de Monluc, afterwards bishop of Valence. ⁽¹⁾ The principal object of this venturous mission was to prevail on the leading northern chiefs to lend their aid to the French monarch in the new war he was about to commence against England. The very event of a ship sailing on such a mission so many centuries back is, in itself, too full of history, both past and future, not to awaken serious thoughts; and among the instances that might be given of the sad sameness of Irish history, few are more striking than the mournful fact that still to this day, after a lapse of 300 years, Ireland continues to be the spot through which the whole English empire may be most easily as well as most fatally wounded.

Of the journey of the two French envoys into Ulster, a daily record was kept, by the order of their royal master, which is still extant, ⁽²⁾ and through the pages of which may be caught some curious glimpses into the interior of Irish life at that period. [A. D. 1550.] At Dumbarton, from whence they sailed on their mission, they met with two Irish gentlemen, George Paris and William Fitzgerald, —the latter, a relative of the earl of Kildare,—who were just then arrived from the Scottish court, having recently

(1) Serigni, *Armorial général ou Registre de la noblesse de France*.

(2) Geoghagan.

been to France to solicit aid for their oppressed fellow-countrymen. There chanced to be likewise then at Dumbarton, a young Irishman, one of the O'Moores,—doubtless a sufferer from the late cruel proceedings in Leix and Offaley,—to whom had been entrusted a similar commission on behalf of the O'Byrnes, the O'Carrols, and other great lords of Leinster.

Arrived at the mouth of Loch Foyle, the Frenchmen anchored for the night off Green Castle, nor could proceed the following day, owing to the violence of the wind, beyond Culmor Fort, a square stone tower, as they describe it, the master or keeper of which was the son of O'Dogharty, a vassal of the chief O'Donell. Here, announcing themselves as two French gentlemen, come, on the part of the king of France, to “the count” O'Donell, they requested shelter till the storm was over. During their stay at Culmor Fort, a visit was paid to them, doubtless connected with the object of their mission, by Robert Waucop, or, as better known by the name annexed to his learned writings, Venantius;—a divine whose erudition was the more remarkable as he had been blind from his birth, and was at this time titular archbishop of Armagh.

Not to dwell at too much length on this mere episode, the two emissaries succeeded in reaching O'Donell's castle in Donegal, and there, in due form, received from that “prince,” as well as from O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, an oath of fidelity pledging them in their own names and in those of all their brother chiefs to place their lives, forces, and fortunes under the protection of France; so that “whosoever was king of France, the same should be likewise king of Ireland.” In the following year these secret practices between the French court and the Irish chieftains were renewed, and again we find George Paris among the agents sent abroad to ask for aid. He was a gentleman of the English Pale, whose father or brother had been executed for treason; “and he therefore,” says sir John Masone in a letter to the English

council, (1) "seemeth to seek all the means he can to annoy the king and the realm, and for that purpose hath been a common post between the wild Irish and the French."

It was not till the fourth year of this reign that the new Liturgy, as altered from the form in which it had been left by the late monarch, was introduced into Ireland; and the same acquiescence, or rather indifference, which marked the reception of the reformed doctrines on their first appearance, still continued its calming influence through the first years of this reign. During this interval a committee of divines had been appointed in England to reform the Liturgy; and in the year 1550, this new form of service having been confirmed by act of parliament, and declared to have been composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost, was transmitted to Ireland. All this time, the success of the policy pursued by Sentleger, in the preceding reign, continued to encourage both rulers and ruled to a continuance of the same kindly relations; and the retention still of that able statesman at the head of the government contributed mainly to the unusual calm which prevailed.

Whatever compunction might haply be felt by some of the more thinking Irish lords for having adopted Henry VIII. as their spiritual head upon earth, it is clear that the greater number of them were far more occupied with their new titles and possessions than with any such religious or conscientious qualms. So far, indeed, was the distinction between Catholic and Protestant from being yet observed with any rigour, that, at this time, as a learned historian expresses it, "the same year produced bishops of each sort;" (2) for, on the 10th of May, this year, Arthur Magennis was, by provision of the pope, constituted bishop of Dromore, and confirmed therein by the king; and on the 3d of September following, Thomas Lancaster, a Protestant, was made bishop of Kildare.

(1) State Paper Office. — A letter cited by Mr. Fraser Tytler.

(2) Cox.

But while the government, as well as the great mass of the people, looked on with indifference at the religious change now in progress, there was an important class, the reformed prelates and clergy, who knew that their interests, both temporal and spiritual, were deeply involved in the struggle, and who, therefore, prepared to put forth all their collected strength. Before the new order for the reading of the liturgy had been proclaimed, a general assembly of the prelates and clergy was convened in Dublin, to whom the lord-deputy presented the service, in its altered form, for their acceptance. But at this point, a wide and determined schism immediately disclosed itself, and while Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, pronounced strongly for the new doctrines, the archbishop of Armagh, Dowdal, "a man of gravity and learning," opposed as zealously all attempts at innovation. The great body of the clergy became, in a similar manner, divided upon the question; and on the arrival of sir James Croft, who succeeded Sentleger as lord-deputy, it was proposed by him that a conference—the usual resource in all cases where both parties have already made up their minds—should forthwith be held, on the points of difference between them.

This mode of decision having been agreed upon, the duty of defending the Reformed Faith was assigned to Staples, bishop of Meath; while "the old learning"—as frequently then the Catholic doctrine was styled—had for its advocate the pious and learned primate, Dowdal. The strenuous controversy which then ensued, and of which the Mass was the chosen topic, took place in the great hall belonging to St. Mary's Abbey; and ended, as happens most commonly on such occasions, in leaving both the contending parties but the more fixed in their own previous views. It could no longer, however, be doubted upon which side, in this struggle of creeds, lay the most promising prospects of worldly power and gain. For, after some efforts made in vain by the new lord-deputy, sir John Crofts, to induce Dowdal to adopt

the new form of liturgy, that eminent divine was harshly stripped of the title of primate of all Ireland, while, as a reward for Browne's courtly services, to him and his successors in the see of Dublin the title and honours of the Irish primacy were transferred.

While in this manner, and under such auspices, the Reformed Church of Ireland was commencing its memorable career, the English soldiery, by their plunder of altars and destruction of images, were no less usefully, as they thought, contributing to the same holy purpose. Those rich vessels and ornaments with which, through ages, it had been the pride of the old religion to adorn its holy places, were now pronounced by the State doctrine to be superstitious and sinful, and were therefore regarded as fit and legitimate objects of spoil. Under this pretence, the furniture of churches was exposed to sale without any remorse; and our native annalists tell us mournfully of the fate of the famous church of Clonmacnoise, which, with all its simple but precious wealth, its chalices, vestments, bells, books, and votive offerings, was at this time pillaged and reduced to ruins by the English garrison of Athlone. (*)

[A. D. 1552.] There occurred on the whole, however, throughout the six years of Edward's reign, but little disturbance or violence, on the score of religious belief; and, if it be true that even in England, during this period, not more than a twelfth of the population had yet embraced the reformed creed, the proportion of converts which the new faith could boast in Ireland must have been almost too small for calculation. The only strife, indeed, in the course of this reign, which wears any appearance of having been connected with religion, was a short but fierce outbreak in the county of Kildare, under the sons of the viscount Baltinglass—that lord himself incurring the suspicion of having sanctioned their rebellion. This isolated attempt, however, was suppressed

(*) *Annals of Donegal.*

without much difficulty, and its rash promoters pardoned. Among those fierce family feuds which form, almost solely, the meagre materials of Irish history, that which ultimately became the most memorable, owing to the character and daring career of the principal personage engaged in it, was the struggle maintained between Shane O'Neill and his elder brother, Mathew, for the right of succession to the title and estates of the chieftain of Ulster.⁽¹⁾ We have seen that their father, Con O'Neill, was by Henry VIII. created earl of Tyrone; while at the same time this lord's spurious son, Mathew, was made baron of Dungannon. But to this usurpation of his own rights, the legitimate heir, Shane O'Neill, strongly opposed himself, declaring Mathew to have been the offspring of a low clandestine intercourse, while he himself was the eldest son of Tyrone by his lawful wife. To the objection urged on the other side, that his father had surrendered his territories to the king, and that, under that surrender, the settlement on Mathew had been made, it was replied by Shane, that according to the Irish law of Tanistry, still in force, his father enjoyed but a life-right in his title and territory, and had therefore no right to make such a surrender. In addition to all these arguments, it was likewise pleaded by Shane that the entail was contrary to the laws both of England and Ireland, inasmuch as Tyrone had never been reduced to an English county.

A feud, similar in some respects to that of the O'Neills, had before broken out in the family of Manus O'Donell; and at last proceeded to such violent lengths that a pitched battle was fought between that chief and his son, which ended in the rout of the unnatural rebel, and the slaughter of a great number of his followers. While thus in the north such monstrous enmities prevailed, there reigned dissensions even more odious among the lords of the south; where the earl of Thomond was

(1) Cusack's Letter to the Duke of Northumberland.

at open war with his uncles, sir Donald and sir Tirlogh, and shortly after was basely slain in cold blood by sir Donald. Nor was Connaught wholly exempt from such barbarous warfare, as, in the last year of Edward's reign; we find Richard, earl of Clanricarde, breaking violently into the boundaries of his kinsman De Burgh, and laying siege to his castle.

To whatever extent the reformed doctrines may have gained ground at the time of Edward's accession, little was added to their spread or influence during that prince's short reign; nor, with the exception, perhaps, of the very highest and very lowest classes of society,—the latter of which took advantage of that crisis to break out in predatory insurrection, while the former were as greedily speculating upon the spoils of the doomed church,—does any great portion of the community appear to have regarded with much interest the great religious revolution then passing before their eyes. One of the causes, doubtless, of this indifference may be found in the forbearance from persecution which so laudably characterised this reign. In two or three instances only, and those attributable solely to Cranmer, was any blood shed on account of religion, under Edward VI.; nor among this small number of victims was there one Roman Catholic. Much, indeed, as the Reformed Church had already departed from the faith left by the fathers, it still retained in this reign prayers for the dead, as a part of the service, and the liturgy was still styled a sacrificial oblation; nor could there be fancied any more apt symbol of the state of the established religion at that period than was afforded on the memorable day when the reformed service was first performed in the cathedral of St. Paul's; for on that occasion, while the common prayer, according to law, was publicly recited at the high altar, mass continued to be privately celebrated in the different chapels of the cathedral. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ The state of their religion was somewhat of the same motley kind as their mass, of which we are told, "Some said mass in Latin, as formerly,

CHAPTER XLVIII.

MARY.

Re-appointment of sir Anthony Sentleger to the government of Ireland.

— His indifference in matters of religion. — Restoration of Gerald, earl of Kildare. — Family feuds. — Marriage of the queen to Philip. — Difficulties as to their assumption of the title of king and queen of Ireland. — Sentleger succeeded in the government by the earl of Sussex. — Descent of the Island-Scots on Ulster. — Enactment of the law for the punishment of heretics. — Further measures of the parliament. — Appointment of lords justices. — Bloody persecutions by the English catholics. — Freedom of Ireland from persecution. — Expedition against Donald O'Brien.

[A. D. 1553.] Such was the state of the public mind on matters of religion, when Mary succeeded to the throne; and while thus limited even in England was the reception of the new creed, among the Irish it had made no progress whatever. The appointment, indeed, of sir Anthony Sentleger to the government of Ireland, at this crisis, affords an example as well of the confusion which then reigned between the two creeds, as of the ductility with which such statesmen as Sentleger could manage to avail themselves, for their own personal advantage, of both. This pliant politician had been likewise lord-deputy at the time of Edward's accession, and having then lent his aid to establish the reformed creed, was now as ready to aid the counsels of a sovereign by whom that whole system was about to be abolished. That he should have enjoyed thus in succession the confidence of both religious parties, appears the more remarkable as he bore the character of being a scoffer in matters of faith, and had even written, it was said, in the reign of king Edward, some verses in ridicule of the mystery of the Real Presence.

others in half Latin, half English, but generally all the reformers at this time retained the word mass, allowed it to be a sacrifice, and prayed for the dead."

The only event in the course of this reign which the mind dwells upon with any pleasure, is the restoration which now took place in the person of Gerald, eleventh earl, of the title and honours of the illustrious house of Kildare. The various adventures, perils, and escapes which lent to the boyish days of this lord a tinge of romantic interest, have already been briefly touched upon in this work. After passing some years in Italy, under the care of his illustrious kinsman, Cardinal Pole, young Gerald, released by the death of Henry VIII. from fears for his personal safety, ventured to return to England, where, being at a ball or masque in king Edward's court, he was graciously noticed by the youthful monarch who restored him shortly after to the greatest part of his estates. The same good fortune continued to attend him in the reign that followed; when by letters patent he was restored to his honours of earl of Kildare and baron of Offaley.

With this kindly act of justice towards the young lord himself was coupled also a due remembrance of his faithful tutor Levrous, who had watched so anxiously, as we have seen, over "the young Irish fugitive," in his perilous escape through France. This attached follower was now appointed bishop of Kildare, in the place of Thomas Lancaster, who had been deprived for having entered into the marriage state.

Meanwhile those bitter family feuds which had raged with such fierceness throughout Edward's reign were still continued, and with even more bitter rancour, through the present. Between Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and his uncle Donough, by whom in the year 1553 the earl's father had been murdered, the most violent dissension still prevailed;—Donough having assumed the title of the O'Brien, as chief of his family by the law of Tanistry. About the same time the unnatural warfare between the earl of Tyreconnel and his son Calwagh was, after a lapse of seven years, renewed; and Calwagh, assisted by Scottish auxiliaries,

who never scrupled as to the cause in which they hired themselves, entered Tyrconnel at the head of a large force, and taking his aged father prisoner, kept him immured in a dungeon during the remainder of his days.

On the marriage of the queen to Philip there arose some difficulty as to the assumption by her and her consort of the titles of king and queen of Ireland;—the people of that country having long maintained that the kings of England held it originally by the donation of pope Adrian IV., and had lost it by their departure from the communion of Rome. It was therefore considered necessary that there should be a renewal of this gift, and the first act of the new pope after his coronation was to publish a bull by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom.

In the Annals of Donegal we find some tales of angry feuds in the family of Tyrconnel, during this reign, which bear on the face of them the features of fiction;—stories irksome to tell if true; but which, being evidently false, have no claim whatever to notice.

[A. D. 1558.] In the fourth year of Mary's reign, Sentleger was succeeded in the office of lord-deputy by Thomas Radcliffe, viscount Fitz-Walters, afterwards earl of Sussex; and this lord brought with him as vice-treasurer sir Henry Sydney, the special favourite of the late king Edward, who breathed his last in Sydney's arms. One of the first and most urgent of those evils which claimed the attention of the new lord-deputy was the encroaching spirit of the Island-Scots, who at this time swarmed over the coasts of Ulster, and not only by their own clannish broils, but by the part they took as mercenaries in the wars of the natives, added fresh fuel to that passion for strife which was strongly innate in both. These daring islanders, having in the summer of this year made a descent in Ulster, and laid siege to Carrickfergus, the lord-deputy mustered his forces, and being joined by the earl of Ormond, with a large body of horse and foot raised

at his own charge, attacked the Scottish islanders, and after the slaughter of about 200 of their force, put the remainder to flight. In this action sir Henry Sydney, who afterwards rose to such high reputation, killed James M'Connel, one of the Scottish leaders, with his own hand.

There now had elapsed an interval of thirteen years since a parliament had been held in Ireland, and as those great religious changes which England had passed through in the interval extended but partially to the sister realm, far less labour of legislation was of course wanting to restore the former state of its ecclesiastical affairs. In some few instances, indeed, reform was wisely substituted for restoration; and that favourite fiscal measure of the late monarch by which he annually swept into the treasury the twentieth part of all the church revenues, was one of the first which this Irish parliament, under the auspices of his daughter Mary, rescinded. Among the laws relating to religion passed at this time, it was enacted that heresies should be punished; and that all acts made against the pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. should be repealed.

Having adopted these and other such measures for the re-establishment of the ancient national faith, the parliament proceeded to the task of regulating the civil government of the realm; and the incursions of the Island-Scots being still frequent and daring, measures were taken to repress this growing evil. To invite or harbour them was declared high treason; and intermarriage with them, without consent from the lord-deputy, was pronounced a felonious crime. But, of all the civil regulations now introduced, the most important, both in itself and the effects consequent upon it, was the reduction into shire-ground of those two districts named Leix and Offaley. In the last reign, as we have seen, these territories were wrested violently and cruelly out of the hands of their ancient proprietors; and the two great septs, the Moores and the O'Connors, who had from time

immemorial possessed them, were now, together with their respective chiefs, dispersed as outcasts over the land. The names given to these new countics—the first that had been formed since the time of King John—were designed as memorials of the reign in which the event had occurred. Thus, Leix was denominated the Queen's County, and its principal fort was styled Maryborough; while, with a like view, Offaley was called the King's County, and its fort named Philipstown. There was likewise power given to the lord-lieutenant of planting colonies in these baronies.

The lord-deputy, having been ordered to attend the queen in England, the lord-chancellor, Curvin, and sir Henry Sydney, were appointed lords justices, and after they had gone through the old Catholic forms of being censured and sprinkled with holy water, mass was celebrated, and they were sworn at Christ Church. In thus sanctioning and taking part in religious ceremonies so utterly repugnant to their own principles and opinions, these statesmen but followed the fashion prevalent in those times, when by the frequent changes of creed enforced upon them, public men became, at last, trained into duplicity, and were made hypocrites by the law.

While such, in Ireland, was the course pursued by the queen's government, during the two or three last years of this reign, her English advisers were odiously occupied in exhibiting to the eyes of Europe that most frightful spectacle—that "inquisition by blood and fire," as some of themselves too truly styled it—which has marked the records of Mary's reign with a brand of infamy never to be effaced or forgotten. But it ought likewise to be ever remembered, that the first impulse towards this work of blood came from Geneva; that the burning of Servetus prepared the way for the fires of Smithfield, and that Bonner, the brutal Bonner, defended his own sanguinary career by an appeal to the lesson and example left by Calvin.

In this most hateful persecution, which continued.

with scarce any respite, through the remainder of Mary's reign, no part was taken by the Irish people, either as tormentors or victims; and while England was everywhere reeking with the blood of martyrs, the sister island was quietly enjoying the unwonted blessings of religious peace. (1) It is even asserted that early in these atrocious proceedings, some English Protestants fled to that island for safety; and, having formed a small community, under the care of a Protestant pastor, remained there free from all harm or annoyance throughout the remainder of Mary's reign.

One of the last events worthy of notice at this period, was an expedition under the earl of Sussex, then lord-deputy, against Donald O'Brien, who was again engaged in violent hostilities with his nephew, Connor, the earl of Thomond. Marching his forces into Munster, the lord-deputy took from O'Brien the castles of Clare, Clonroad, and Búnraty, and delivered the castle of Bunratty into the hands of the earl of Thomond. In the course of the same progress, blending judiciously acts of graciousness with his sterner duties, he received at Limerick the submission of the earl of Desmond, and, a few days after, stood godfather to that lord's young son, whom he named James Sussex, and likewise presented to the child a chain of gold.

(1) Ware's Annals.—“Many Protestant refugees,” says Stuart, “who had fled from England, remained unmolested, and even unnoticed, in this country.”—*History of Armagh*.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ELIZABETH.

Frequent alterations of the national creed.—Pliancy of public men on the subject of religion.—Attachment of the temporal lords to the ancient faith.—Mass of the population still remain catholic.—Indifference of the Irish chieftains.—Retrospect of preceding reigns.—Efforts on the part of England to impose the reformed faith on Ireland.—Noble struggle of the Irish.—Elizabeth and the huguenots.—The government resumed by Sussex.—Pageant of his reception on his return to Dublin.—Proceedings of O'Neill.—His character.—Visit of the lord justice to him.—Its beneficial consequences.—Internal dissensions.—Unsettled condition of Ulster.—Rumours of foreign invasion.—Indications, on the part of O'Neill, of a friendly feeling towards the English government.—Renewed hostilities on the re-appointment of Sussex.—Design of subduing the native chiefs, by opposing them to each other.—Daring conduct of O'Neill.—Project for calling O'Neill to England.—Opposed by Sussex.—General action between O'Neill and the English forces.—Reverses of the English soldiery.—O'Neill declines an interview with Sussex.—His ostentation.—Ulster continues to be the great obstacle to peace.—Design for procuring the death of O'Neill.—The earl of Kildare commissioned to treat with him.—Articles of peace agreed upon.—O'Neill in England.—Curiosity excited by him and his followers.—Renewed conflicts in Ireland.—O'Neill returns to Ireland.—Religious dissension between the earls of Ormond and Desmond.—Trying situation of Shane O'Neill.—His refusal to attend a meeting for carrying into effect the articles agreed to by him.—His ambitious pretensions.—Conatus O'Donell.—Conduct of the queen during these tumults.—Defection of Tirlogh Lynogh.—Parley between O'Neill and the earls of Ormond and Kildare.—Impolicy of the government in refusing his requests.—Renewed mediation.—Peace concluded.—General rejoicing.—Continued feuds between the earls of Ormond and Desmond.—Conflict between them.—O'Neill's adherence to the articles of peace.—Influx of the Island-Scots.—O'Neill attacks and routs them.—Great addition to his fame in consequence.—Insecurity of the peace.—Sir Henry Sydney's policy towards O'Neill.—O'Neill's defiance of the English government.—Increasing difficulties of his position.—Preparations for the attack of O'Neill.—Defection of the northern captains.—O'Neill applies for aid to the Scots of Clanahoy, and to the earl of Argyll.—His falling fortunes.—His assassination by the Scots.—General observations on his character, and the circumstances of his remarkable career.—He is succeeded in the chieftaincy by Tirlogh Lynogh.—Condition of Munster.—Progress of the lord-deputy through the south of Ireland.—Subjection of Desmond.—Remarks on the Irish government.—Sydney, accompanied by Desmond, returns to England.—Desmond committed to the tower.—Renewed hostilities in Ireland.—Ormond is sent over to crush the rising movements.—Kilmallaack sacked and burnt by Fitz-Maurice.

[A. D. 1558.] During the course of the three reigns immediately preceding that of Elizabeth, the people of England had seen the religion of the country three times altered; and they were now about to witness a fourth change of the national creed. The same pliancy, too, of principle, which had been exhibited throughout these successive apostacies, was shown, in an equally shameless degree, at the important juncture we have now reached; when the same chief governor, the earl of Sussex, who had but two years before assembled a parliament in Dublin to establish by law the Catholic faith, now summoned another to condemn and abolish all that had then been so solemnly enacted.

That ambitious and worldly laymen should be found thus pliant in their religious policy, is not, perhaps, remarkable; but, in the present instance, it was among the spiritual lords of parliament that this ready compliance with the new change of creed was most glaringly shown. For, out of the nineteen prelates who sat in the Irish House of Peers, there were only two, Welsh of Meath, and Levrous of Kildare, who so far consulted the dictates of conscience and consistency as to refuse the oath of supremacy, and thereby forfeit their respective sees. While thus obsequiously all the new changes in church and state were acquiesced in by most of the ecclesiastical authorities, many of the temporal lords still clung to the ancient creed; and some there were in whose descendants, even to this day, the old titles are still connected with the old faith.

Although the Anglo-Irish legislature had now, for the second time, gone through the forms of adopting the Protestant creed, it was only in the few counties constituting the Pale that the new ecclesiastical system had yet acquired any footing; and all the great mass of the population remained still firmly Catholic. The only deep and lasting effect, therefore, of the establishment of the reformed faith was, that it added to the already numerous sources of strife between the two races, that

most active and deadly of all, religious dissension.

We have seen how little the first advances of the new creed under Henry VIII. awakened the fear or alarmed the consciences of the Irish chieftains of that day; who doubtless persuaded themselves that, by the assertion of the crown's supremacy, a political rather than a religious ascendancy was meant to be established. Not even the Act which degraded the popedom to the rank of a mere foreign bishopric, could rouse in the O'Neill of that day any burst of religious resentment; though to him the Catholic nations then anxiously looked as a chosen champion of "the glory of the Mother Church."

During the short reign of Edward, the time and thoughts of the young monarch's ministers were engaged too deeply in the task of compiling a new form of faith for England, to leave them much leisure to give to the affairs, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of Ireland; nor was any parliament called to consider that kingdom's affairs during the whole of Edward's reign. With a similar sort of neglect all matters relating to the church were treated; and the new liturgy, although framed, as we have seen, soon after young Edward's accession, was not transmitted to Ireland before the fifth year of his reign. Then, in its revised form,—having been stripped of some shreds of doctrine still imbued too much with popery,—it was sent over, by the king's order, to be read in Ireland in the English tongue. Being thus left very much to their own guidance, the persons then in authority appear to have pursued a course of policy which, though it could not be viewed as orthodox by either of the contending parties, was at least successful in producing peace. The oath of supremacy was again enjoined, and the ecclesiastical and spiritual supremacy restored to the crown.

In the reign of queen Mary, a respite was gained from at least one fertile source of rancour and discord, a difference of creed between the governing and the governed; and, accordingly, such was the quiet enjoyed throughout that period, that in the year 1554 the whole force re-

quired to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland was no more than 600 foot and 460 horse; and the slight increase of this small army, which took place shortly after, was required for the suppression of the Hebridian Scots.

At the time of Elizabeth's accession, the government of Ireland was held by Thomas, earl of Sussex, who, after a short interval of recall to England, was again sent to assume the government of that country, taking instructions with him for a general meeting of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the establishment of the reformed worship throughout the kingdom. While engaged in this important task, Sussex was summoned frequently to consult with the queen; and an account is given of the manner in which he was welcomed back to Dublin, after one of these absences, which, for the glimpse it gives of the forms of pageantry in those days, may be thought worthy of mention. After the customary ceremonial of swearing the lord-deputy, and delivering to him the sword of state, Thomas Fitzsimon, then mayor of Dublin, invited his lordship and the council to dinner, and treated them afterwards with a theatrical performance, in which the "Nine Worthies" was acted. In the evening a sumptuous banquet awaited the party, after which the mayor and his brethren escorted them home by torch-light, and attended by the city music, to Thomas-Court.

But, while the representatives of English dominion were thus holding their state in Dublin, there was another court and camp among the wild fastnesses of Ulster, to which though rude and uncouth their character, the eyes of most of the nations of Europe were then watchfully turned. Nor was the personage, whose known enmity to the law and creed of England thus won for him the sympathy of foreign nations, altogether wanting in those qualities which the cause he upheld required in its champion. Born of a race, the northern Hy-Nials, from which, through a long course of time, the monarchs of Ireland had been furnished, Shane O'Neill appears to have combined with the rudeness and violence of uncivil-

vilised life some of those qualities which command the confidence of followers, and awaken a feeling approaching to respect in foes. Acute and able, indeed, as were most of those personages with whom from time to time he had to negotiate on matters connected with his own pretensions, it is no small proof of his natural shrewdness and powers of address, that almost always on such occasions he succeeded in accomplishing the object on which he had set his mind. How confidently he relied on his powers of thus drawing over the English authorities to his views, appears from his conduct in the first year of this reign, when sir Henry Sydney, then acting as lord-deputy in the absence of Sussex, marched to Dundalk for the purpose of fortifying and defending the English Pale. One of the principal objects of this journey was to call O'Neill to strict account for the threatening position he had lately assumed; for having taken upon him the obnoxious title of "The O'Neill," and entirely disclaimed the English jurisdiction. The lord justice accordingly sent to require his presence at Dundalk, —the chief being then at a lordship belonging to him not very far from that town. But Shane, evading this significant summons, addressed in return an invitation to the deputy, begging that he would honour him with a visit, and act as sponsor or gossip to his child.

The event proved that, in hoping to lull by this friendly advance the storm of authority about to burst upon him, the chief had not calculated too sanguinely. The queen's representative deemed it most politic to comply with his request; and it was in the course of this singular visit, if we may believe the old chronicler ⁽¹⁾, that Shane entered into those explanations respecting his own conduct, of which a short summary has been given in the preceding pages, and which he afterwards, when presented to Elizabeth herself, repeated.

Although, among the sources of discord and mischief

(1) Holinshed.

that were then in full play throughout Ireland, the condition of Ulster, under this chief, may have claimed pre-eminence, there was scarcely a portion of the whole island, at this time, that was not convulsed by its own local and separate knot of disturbers. In Munster, the feuds arising out of the contest maintained for the captainship of Thomond, and the hate so long cherished between the two rival houses of Desmond and Ormond, kept that whole province, and especially Kerry and Tipperary, in a state of perpetual ferment; while, in Leinster, those old scourges of the English Pale, the O'Byrnes, Tooles, Cavenaghs, and other such septs, carried on incessantly their harassing inroads. In like manner, the province of Connaught continued to be a prey to the strife and jealousies ever alive between the earl of Clanricarde and that sept of the De Burgos called the Mac William Oughter.

When, in addition to this picture of the other three provinces, is taken into account the condition of Ulster, not merely as the battle-ground upon which both English and Irish misrule were now contending for mastery, but as exposed to incessant invasion from the Island-Scots, —some adequate notion may be formed of the task which had now devolved on Elizabeth's ministers, of bringing such a chaos of conflicting elements into any form of order or peace. It must likewise be kept in mind that to all these other materials of strife and mischief, a great portion of which had been of very long standing, was now beginning to be added the venom of religious schism, —a new church having been set up in the land, which was not that of the people, or their sires.

Already had the watchful sympathy, which long had been known to be deeply felt in the cause of the Irish by the great Catholic powers of Europe, begun to be sanguinely counted upon; reports of invasion by France and Spain were eagerly circulated, and, in order to lend some sanction to the rumour, it was said that the countess of Tyrone had given information to that effect. Nor was

it only from Shane O'Neill and his rebel host that the Government saw reason to apprehend disturbance. A recent meeting of the earls of Kildare and Desmond, at Limerick, was thought to betoken some coming danger; and orders were sent that the earl of Kildare should be recommended to come to England, and in case he did not comply with this intimation, that he should be arrested. Some writings or books, it appears, condemnatory of the measures of Government, had lately been circulating in Ireland, of which Kildare was strongly suspected to be the author. (1)

The frank and confiding spirit which had been shown by Sydney, in accepting so readily Shane's invitation to his mansion, was by no means lost on the Irish chieftain; and the long respite from his harassing incursions which the Pale enjoyed, throughout the succeeding year, appears to have been a result of this kindlier feeling. A proof of his wish to stand thus favourably in the eyes of Government is found in a letter which he addressed early in this year [A. D. 1560.] to the Queen, wherein, among his titles to rule over Ulster, he pleads his early services, his election to the title of the O'Neill, and his "prosperous government," which had caused all the waste country to be now inhabited. He also lays claim, as his father's heir, to the town of Ballygriffin, declaring that the son of Mathew O'Neill (then titular Baron of Dungannon) had no just claim to that town. In the same letter he expresses a wish, and even a taste, for the softening influences of civilised life, and desires earnestly, "some English gentlewoman of noble birth to his wife."

But, on the return of the earl of Sussex, to resume the government, all this promise of prolonged tranquillity vanished. The Irish chieftain, between whom and Sussex, owing to their frequent collisions, the most

(1) From this charge, the earl of Kildare was afterwards absolved. — Letter from the council in Ireland to the privy council, "absolving the earl of Kildare from being the author or furtherer of any books of complaint and mislike of the government." — *S. P. O.*

bitter hate subsisted, (1) broke out again in open rebellion, and making an irruption into the English Pale, destroyed all before him, wherever he came, with fire and sword. On the approach of winter,—having, by this ruinous course, laid waste most of the corn and produced a scarcity of food,—he found himself forced to withdraw from the Pale into his own fastnesses till the spring. Meanwhile, in the confident hope of being soon able to hunt the rebel out of his lair, a plan was proposed by the queen's ministers for dividing Ulster into shireland, and reducing it all to rule and obedience, in the manner of England.

Among the various expedients employed to divide and weaken the Irish enemy, one of the most effectual had always been the setting up of one great chieftain against another, by which means both were alike plundered and weakened, and their English masters alone profited by the common rapine. Such was the policy to which they had recourse at the present crisis. To put forward against O'Neill some popular chief, and support him with the whole weight of the Government, was thought to be an expedient at least worth the trial; and the Calwagh O'Donell, chief of Tyrconnel, as well from his high name and station in Ulster, as from his known leaning to the English, was thought to be the person, of all others, most fitted for such a purpose. Accordingly, a messenger was forthwith despatched, with orders to proceed, by the way of Scotland, to Knockfergus, and from thence to bear with all speed the queen's letters to O'Donell, offering to create him earl of Tyrconnel. By the same messenger letters were sent to O'Donell's wife, from the earl of Sussex, informing her of some presents he had in his possession, for her, from the queen.

About the same time, and probably with the same canvassing views, a peerage, promised by Henry VIII.

(1) In one of the communications (written in Latin), from Sussex to O'Neill, he complains of the chief's letters as being "*nimis superbe scriptas*."—S. P. O. 1564.

to the head of the O'Reillys came at last to be granted, and the chief of the East Brenny was now created Earl of Brenny and Baron of Cavan.

Whatever might have been the real object of the Government, in courting the aid of O'Donell, or, as he had now become, the earl of Tyrconnel, all was frustrated by a sudden and daring act of Shane O'Neill. Having been apprised, through some secret channel, that O'Donell meant on a certain day to set out on a journey, accompanied by his wife, the countess of Argyle, Shane lay in ambush for them on the road, and making the whole party his prisoners, threw the chief himself into a dungeon, where he remained for several years. Suspicions were strongly entertained, that the information, which enabled O'Neill to entrap so easily his powerful rival, had been furnished by the lady herself, who became, it was thought, his willing captive; and the event a good deal confirmed the truth of this surmise; for, after a short time had elapsed, the countess of Argyle, instead of sharing her husband's dungeon, lived openly with the lawless Shane as his mistress.

To put down, or at least reduce, the enormous power of this fierce toparch, was now an object of pressing importance; and measures of force having been so long employed in vain, it was thought expedient to try a less rigorous line of policy. O'Neill himself had declared his willingness to repair to England and make his submission at the foot of the throne: and the queen, confident in her own power as well of conciliating as of awing, desired that this purpose of the Irish chief should be encouraged, and every means supplied to facilitate his journey.

But, while the sovereign was acting thus sensibly, her lieutenant, actuated far more by hatred to O'Neill than by zeal for the public service, pursued that chief with a spirit of vindictiveness, which left neither to him nor the harassed country a moment's respite from strife. While affecting to favour and forward the royal intentions, re-

specting O'Neill, he was obstructing the intended journey by every difficulty that ingenious spite could devise; and at last, by a series of aggressions and insults, drove his victim again into open rebellion. One of the indignities complained of by the chief was, that soldiers belonging to the queen were placed at Armagh,—thus entrenching, as he said, on his rights of sovereignty over Ulster; and when Sussex refused haughtily to withdraw the garrison, O'Neill contented himself with replying, that “as long as the soldiers remained in Armagh he would ask no peace or truce.”

Were desert to be measured solely by success, and the real merits of a cause judged by the number of victories gained on its side, the long struggle of the Irish people for their independence could boast of but few such white marks upon its banner. At the juncture, however, which occupies us, there lighted on the national cause a moment's success, which, more from its timeliness than from any important results attending it, served to awaken fresh spirit and kindle new hope in the harassed natives. Between O'Neill and the queen's troops stationed at Armagh some skirmishing had already taken place; and this was followed shortly after by a general action, in which the English army were put to rout with the loss of great numbers of their force. But the moral effects of their discomfiture must have been even still more damaging to them, as we find Sussex, in more than one of his official letters, describing it as “a disastrous engagement!”⁽¹⁾ It happened, too, that this lord himself was not present on the occasion, having remained, as he laments, with the earl of Ormond, who was then lying sick at his own castle.

In one of the parleys held with O'Neill, during this confused scene of strife,—this wild medley, as it seems to have been, of savage and civilised life,—one of the points of concession required of him was, that he should

(1) Lord-Lieutenant to sir William Cecil, — S. P. O.

give up O'Donell as a hostage. But this O'Neill refused to accede to, and the lord of Tyrconnel was forced to remain still his prisoner; although, in expectation of his speedy release, the robes, collars, and coronets, which had been prepared for investing both him and the chief O'Reilly with the honours of the peerage, had been sent over from England. All this time, notwithstanding that the Ulster chief was still up in arms, and had been proclaimed a traitor, efforts continued to be made, by order of the queen, to induce him to repair to her presence; and the lords of Slane and Howth, whose influence over him was known to be considerable, were employed to mediate with him for the purpose.

That this acute, though illiterate warrior, who knew thoroughly the characters of those English lords he had to deal with, should fear to commit himself into their hands, is by no means surprising; and of Sussex, as we shall find, his darkest suspicions were but too well founded. That lord, in now writing to him to urge his departure for England, desired to have previously an interview with him; but this the chief peremptorily declined, alleging, as his reason, that several lords and gentlemen had in his own times, and under similar circumstances, been tortured and murdered. His want of means to defray the expenses of the journey was one of the chief obstacles that now stood in its way, a loan of 3000*l.* being, as he alleged, necessary for this purpose; and sir William Fitz-Williams, then acting as deputy for Sussex, in preferring a request to the queen for the advance of this sum, significantly adds—"on receipt of the money he will doubtless rebel."

We cannot wonder that this bold warrior, fully conscious as he was of wielding a power before which, rude as were its resources, even haughty England was forced to pause and temporize, should sometimes boast too ostentatiously of his success. In this confident spirit it was that he now announced, through lord Slane, to the Government, his determination to regain by conquest

the whole of his territory. Most inconsistently too, considering the pride which he took in his old national title of The O'Neill, he now styled himself for a time the earl of Ulster; and paying a tribute to "the land of the stranger" which had gallantry, at least, to recommend it, prayed, in a letter addressed by him to the queen, "that he might have some English gentlewoman of noble blood to his wife." The same desire is expressed in his letters to Sussex; and that earl's sister is more than once mentioned by him as the noble lady to whose hand his ambition aspires. ⁽¹⁾

But, whatever favour he might have hoped to find in the eyes of the lady, he had long been regarded by the earl, her brother, with feelings of the most deadly hate. Having been entrusted by the queen with the government of Ireland, at the very commencement of the new reign, Sussex had hoped to signalize the period of his lieutenancy by the reduction of that kingdom to order and peace. But Ulster alone continued to defy all his power. The restless and daring spirit of O'Neill, ever alive to his country's war-cry, and baffling her masters even in the midst of their fancied triumphs, made of that province a ready focus of revolt, from whence, whatever the apparent tranquillity that reigned around, the impulse was ready to be caught and circulated throughout the whole land. In describing at the time we have reached the unusually peaceful state of the whole kingdom, Sussex complains of the condition of Ulster as the great and sole exception, and remarks what prosperity would ensue to that province "if Shané were extirpated."

These significant words were but the shadow of what was then passing through the writer's mind. He was concerting at that time a plan for the secret murder of O'Neill; and had found an instrument fitted in all ways, except courage, for such a service. This chosen tool of the queen's representative was named Nele Gray; and,

(1) "Inter omnes desiderat copulari Dorninæ Franoisæ (germanæ comitis Sussex) quam optat propter diversas rationabiles causas." — S. P. O.

after first swearing him upon the Bible to keep all secret, it was proposed that he should receive for this murder of Shane one hundred marks of land a-year to him and his heirs for ever.

That this clandestine mode of despatching a personal enemy was sometimes adopted by exalted personages in those days, appears from the instance of Henry VIII., who, as it is now known, on authentic evidence, encouraged, if not originated, the assassination of cardinal Beaton; and likewise from another instance afforded by Elizabeth herself, at a later period of her reign. With regard to the odious transaction now under consideration, there needs no more than the letter addressed by Sussex himself to his royal mistress⁽¹⁾, on that occasion, to prove the frightful familiarity with deeds of blood which then prevailed in the highest stations; there being throughout the letter informing the queen of this intended murder, not a single hint of doubt or scruple as to the moral justifiableness of the transaction. Fortunately, owing to those qualms, not of conscience but of cowardice, which, from the first, appear to have disheartened the chosen instrument of the crime, the plotters abandoned their purpose, and O'Neill, unconscious of his narrow escape, was left to continue for some years longer a thorn in the side of the English government.

The long postponement of the chief's visit to her court but rendered the queen more earnest and imperative in requiring his presence; and, at length, threats were held forth that, if he delayed any longer his coming, he should be brought to England by force. Finding that menaces, however, were far more likely to repel than attract, her

(1) The concluding part of this frightful letter is as follows: — "In fine, I brake with him to kill Shane, and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land to him and his heirs for reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness, and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after. I told him the ways he might do it, and how to escape after with safety, which he offered and promised to do." The earl adds, "I assure your Highness he may do it without danger, if he will, and if he will not do what he may in your service, there will be done to him what others may." — *S. P. O. Letter from Ld. Fitzwilliam.*

ministers adopted a course which, as being more flattering to his personal dignity, was attended with much better success. The earl of Kildare was despatched to Ireland, with full authority to enter into terms with the chief, and prevail on him to accompany him to England. This gracious mode of dealing, as rare as it was always welcome to the Irish, soon smoothed away all difficulties; [A. D. 1561.] and, O'Neill having made his submission, articles of peace were agreed upon between him and the earl of Kildare, in the presence of the viscount Balinglass and the lords of Slane and Louth; and, shortly after, Shane was conducted by the earl of Kildare to England.

This disposition, on the part of the queen, to treat O'Neill with the regard due to his station and power, afforded him a triumph not a little gratifying over his great enemy, Sussex. But that lord, still untired in his hate, had now found in the young earl of Tyrone, son of the late Mathew, baron of Dungannon, a new channel through which to indulge his spiteful feelings against O'Neill, and turn away from him any favour he might have been taught to expect from the English court. With a view to this object, the earl advised his royal mistress, through her minister Cecil, to "show strangeness to Shane at his coming, and not to call him into her presence to treat with him, until Sussex himself arrived." "The report of this policy," adds her lieutenant, "will do the young lord much good."

While his enemies were thus actively plotting against him, the chief himself and the train of followers he had brought with him from Ireland, were viewed, wherever they went, with curiosity and surprise. The dress of the Galloglasses, or foot soldiers, who formed his body-guard, has been described by an English historian, who might, himself, have been an eye-witness of the strange group, as he was then in his tenth or eleventh year. Their heads, he tells us, were always uncovered, while the long loose hair was let to fall down in large curls. They had their shirts dyed of a saffron colour, with the sleeves exceed-

ingly large, while their tunics, or vests, were very short, and their cloaks rough or shaggy ⁽¹⁾.

The schemes set on foot by the earl of Sussex for the two great objects on which he had now set his heart,—the downfall of O'Neill's authority, and the advancement of the young earl of Tyrone in his place, had in so far proved successful, that all communication with O'Neill, on matters relating to the object of his visit, were by the queen's orders suspended, until the arrival of the young lord from Ireland. In the meanwhile, the Irish chief became naturally discontented, both at this delay and its causes. The sum of money, too, which he had borrowed in Ireland to defray his expenses, was now nearly exhausted, and it would be necessary, he found, to apply for the loan of 300*l.* more. In addition to these various grievances, he had to complain also that the garrison of Armagh made frequent incursions on his "subjects," while, in another quarter, the sons of the late baron Dungannon, assisted by Randal-boy, the Scot, were employed in despoiling and committing disorders on his land.

In this state were the chieftain's affairs, with the novel enterprise also before him, of having to defend his right to the title of The O'Neill,—not in the battle-fields of his own land, but in the presence of the great law authorities of England,—when news arrived of an important event which had just occurred in Ireland, and which altered very materially all the bearings of his position and prospects. A fierce conflict had taken place near Carlingford,—whether by accident or design does not appear,—between the young earl of Tyrone and one of his kinsmen, Tirlogh Lynoch, each accompanied by a large gathering of mounted followers; and the result of the encounter had been the massacre of the young

(1) Cum securigero Galloglassorum satellitio capitis nudis crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humana urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus, et lacernis villosis.—*Camden, Hist. Elis.*

lord himself and of more than twenty of his armed attendants. Being relieved by this event from the only powerful competition he had to contend with, Shane availed himself most gladly of the permission to return to Ireland now granted to him, as well as of the sum of 300*l.*, which, in compliance with his request, the Government had lent him to defray the expenses of his journey.

[A. D. 1562.] Arriving in Dublin (May 26.), after an absence of several months, he found a report spread abroad that Tirlagh Lynogh had been declared The O'Neill. He therefore delayed not a single day in Dublin; but after presenting the queen's letter to the lord-lieutenant, and likewise causing her proclamation to be read publicly through the streets, he departed with a guard into Tyrone.

While these events, connected principally with the Ulster chief, were taking place, the bitter feud so long subsisting between the two great Anglo-Irish houses of Desmond and Ormond was fast ripening into that fullness of hate and jealousy which broke out at length in open warfare. To the numerous grounds as well as pretexts for dissension which had long divided these two noble families was now added the fresh fuel of religious differences; the earl of Ormond having been brought up at the court of England in the profession of the Reformed Faith, while Desmond has been always celebrated by Catholic historians as one of the champions of the ancient Irish Church. But the cause of religion might well have dispensed with such defenders as this weak and turbulent lord, who, although possessing some popular qualities, passed his life, during its short season of prosperity, in a constant course of tyranny and exaction oppressive to all those who came within the sweep of his rude sway. Even at this period, while yet his accession to the title was recent, so much had he offended by his domineering spirit the great lords of the West,—the lord Roche, the Great Barry, the lords Courcy, Fitz-Morris, and others,—that at length he was summoned

before the lord-lieutenant and council to answer for these "misorders," as well as for the offence, with which he had been recently charged, of "maintaining all open rebels and declared traitors."

As there appeared but little hope that, without the royal intervention, this deadly strife between Ormond and Desmond could be kept within any bounds, the queen thought it right to summon them both to her presence, and an order was forthwith issued to that effect, enjoining also, "that the earl of Ormond should not come without the earl of Desmond." The presentation of these two lords to the queen must have followed shortly after that of O'Neill; and there could hardly have appeared before her more truly characteristic specimens of the three races under whose misrule ill-fated Ireland was then suffering; one of them being, in his views and objects, insolently English; another, in no less offensive a degree, Irish (1); and the third, a mongrel mixture of the two, combining in itself some of the worst vices of each.

Some anxious efforts had been made by Desmond to evade this royal summons, and, among other excuses alleged by him, he pleaded the "hot wars," in which he was then engaged with his uncle Morris Fitz Desmond. It was strongly suspected that this family warfare was a mere mock display concerted between the two relatives. But, however this might have been, no exemption from the royal mandate was granted; and the two earls accordingly proceeded, in each other's company, by the way of Waterford to England.

How trying and difficult was Shane's position, on his return home, between the gratitude still fresh in his mind for the many courtesies he had experienced in England, and the wild welcome awaiting him at home from the thousands of devoted followers, who hailed his

(1). Among some private memoranda by sir William Cecil respecting the means to be used with Shane while in London, we find the following:—"to change his garments and go like a gentleman."—S. P. O.

return among them as the signal for fresh inroads on the hated lords of the Pale, — what difficulties this position involved him in may all be collected, as told with contemporary freshness, in the copious records of that period. It was doubtless the favourable change thought to have been worked in him by his visit to England, that prompted the wish expressed in a letter addressed to Cecil by sir William Fitz-Williams — he “would that Shane and the nobility of Ireland would spend four or five months at court occasionally.”

It was not to be expected, however, that the chief would remain long in this state of restraint; and the first object of his resumed hostilities happened to be O'Donell, son of the Calwagh O'Donell, whom Shane had made prisoner by an act of barbarous outrage, and still kept immured in a dungeon. It was against the son of this unfortunate chief, now abetted by M'Guire, O'Reilly, and others of the northern toparchs, that O'Neill was about to commence hostilities.

In order to check, before they spread further, these movements of strife, a day was fixed by the lord-lieutenant and council for Shane to meet them at Dundalk, and there perform his part of the agreement made with him, in England, by her majesty. At the same time the earls of Sussex and Kildare addressed jointly to this formidable personage a most earnest letter, entreating him to attend the appointed meeting, and likewise asking of him a short truce for Con O'Donell and the other northern chiefs leagued in his cause. By such avowals, under their own hands, of the watchful alarm he had inspired in his enemies, Shane was naturally led to presume on the terrors of his name, and indulge in a licence of self-will that set all laws and conventional usages at defiance.

The announced object of the meeting appointed to be held at Dundalk was, as stated by the council themselves, “the due performance of the articles of indenture made recently in England, between her highness and O'Neill;”

and this meeting, of course, the chief, as one of the two contracting parties, had been duly invited to attend. But, without deigning even to notify to them his intention, and in a manner pronounced by the council to have been "stubborn and refractory," he entirely absented himself from the meeting. Repeated efforts were made by the English authorities to induce him to depart from this line of conduct; but he still obstinately persevered in it, and at length declared his resolution to perform none of the articles agreed upon in England.

The tone of defiance thus even more than ordinarily assumed by him, and the interest well known to be felt by the Catholic Powers of Europe in the fierce strife now raging in Ireland, spread an alarm of secret plots and impending invasion throughout the kingdom. Among other reports of this kind, it was said that letters addressed to the chief by the queen of Scots had, shortly after his departure for England, been received at one of his houses, and was from thence immediately forwarded to him. It was likewise remarked, as suspicious, that, during a great part of his sojourn in London, he was almost daily engaged in conference with the ambassador of king Philip.

To acquire, in reality, that sole dominion over all Ulster, to which he laid claim as his hereditary right, was the avowed and constant object of this daring dynast. His ancestors, he declared, were kings of Ulster;—"by the sword he had won it, and by the sword he would maintain it." In this ambitious design, however, he had to contend, not only with the supreme power of the state, but likewise with those lesser chiefs of the northern province who were all under the protection of the queen's peace, and espoused—some of them, doubtless, sincerely—the interests of the English crown. Among these lords, Conatius O'Donell, the son of the Calwagh, stood far the highest, as well in character as in station; and the quaint tribute paid to his merits by the earl of Sussex ought not to be here omitted. "Con O'Donell," said this

lord, "is wise, valiant, civil, and brave; and the likeliest plant that ever sprang in Ulster, whereon to graft a good subject." To the strife subsisting hereditarily between The O'Neill and The O'Donell, there had lately been added a new source of ill-blood by the cruel durance in which the unrelenting Shane still continued to hold the Calwagh's son. The only terms on which he would consent to the enlargement of his prisoner was the surrender into his hands of the Castle of the Lifford, the principal defence of O'Donell's lands; and hard and humbling as must have been the sacrifice, it was, not long after, wrung from the wronged chieftain. ⁽¹⁾

The determination avowed by Shane to perform no part of the articles agreed to by him in England, again drove the contending parties into all their usual course of tumult and dissension. To "extirpate" the insolent rebel became, as before, the declared resolution of the government; while Shane himself, defying their menaces, again broke loose, endeavoured to surprise the garrison of Armagh, and, making an inroad into O'Donell's country, brought away with him a prey of more than 10,000 head of cattle.

[A. D. 1564.] It was during the alarm caused by these violent proceedings that the queen, on being told by Sussex that he feared O'Neill was again brewing some mischief, answered, "Let not our friends be alarmed: if O'Neill rises it will be for their advantage; there will be estates for them who want." ⁽²⁾ This mode of reconciling their great lords to Irish rebellion, succeeding rulers have not been slow to adopt. But, in the present instance, however eager were the followers on both sides, to come to actual extremities, no such result, it is clear, was desired by either of the two contending parties; the

⁽¹⁾ In a letter concerning O'Donell from the queen to the lord Justice, December 8. 1564, it is said, "Her majesty is not without compassion for him."—*S. P. O.*

⁽²⁾ Cecil, in writing, about this time, to the lord Justice Arnold, says that "as a Christian man, he cannot contemplate the wild Irish set to light as bears and bandogs without perplexity."—*S. P. O.*

actual position as well of the government as of O'Neill himself, at this crisis, being such as to render any serious burst of warfare alike ill-timed and inexpedient for both.

To Elizabeth, who expended money with a most reluctant hand, the great cost attending her Irish wars was always a subject of much concern; and any call upon her for fresh expenditure, at this period, would have been peculiarly embarrassing; as the pay of the forces then serving in Ireland was no less than three years in arrear. Had the camp of the Ulster chief been the only quarter from whence danger was apprehended, the task of the government would have been far less arduous. But the queen's Anglo-Irish subjects had become, many of them, deeply disaffected; evil advice was known to have been privately sent to Shane by some of the malcontents of the Pale, and apprehensions were entertained that the earl of Desmond, on his return from England, would take part with that powerful rebel.

While such were the concurring circumstances that rendered peace at this time desirable to the government, O'Neill, on his part, was beset with difficulties which an appeal to arms would be more likely to aggravate than remove; and, among these, by far the most serious was the late defection from his side of Tirlogh Lynogh, his near kinsman, who, next to himself, was considered the most powerful man in Tyrone. Through the management of the earl of Sussex, this lord had been led to renounce his alliance with Shane; but the chief did not the less strenuously continue to harass and torment the ruling powers of the Pale; and the close relations which he had lately entered into with the Scots of the Isles, in direct defiance of the proclaimed will of the English authorities, very much added to the alarm and watchfulness with which all his movements were viewed.

But, notwithstanding the rude tenour of Shane's career, a remarkable change had, of late, been working in him, which may be traced, as already has been intimated, to the new scenes of life opened upon him during his visit

to England. The modes of society of which he then gained some insight, and the great personages of Elizabeth's court with whom he became acquainted, had evidently awakened in him an ambitious taste for English honours and English connexions, which marks strikingly this later period of his career. There exist letters addressed by him to Dudley and sir William Cecil, returning thanks for their great kindness to him; and announcing presents which he sends them of horses, hawks, and greyhounds; and, a few years later, in writing to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, he takes occasion to remind those personages, and with the air of a man accustomed to civilised life, of a curious incident that occurred in hunting one day, when they were all visitors together at the English court. (1) The object of his letter to the two cardinals was to desire they would use their interest with the French king to have an army sent to assist him, "that he may restore and defend the Roman Catholic faith."

Still more strikingly do we trace the effects of his visit to England in the strong wish felt by him to marry some noble lady of that land. In several of the letters addressed by him to the queen's ministers this prayer for a wife forms a very leading part; and the sister of Sussex, the lady Frances, is always mentioned as the fair object of his choice. Should this suit fail, he asks for permission to marry some foreign lady. That these various impressions and incidents had all some share in shaping the course which he afterwards pursued, can hardly be doubted; while the comparatively peaceful state into which, from causes already mentioned, the whole country had now subsided, left freer opening for the more pliant course and tractable views which he appeared inclined to adopt.

(1) S. P. O.—The incident to which he alludes was that of the brother of the Cardinal de Guise having killed two stags with one shot: — "Ubi nobilissimum fratrem vestrum D. Marchionem jam tunc Scotla venientem in aula Anglica inter venandum cervos duo uno sagittæ jactu transigentem videbamus."

A strong suspicion being at this time entertained that the chief, in concert with M'Connell and the Scots, was planning some serious mischief, a parley was held with him by the earls of Ormond and Kildare, to induce him to break with his Scottish allies. O'Neill declared, however, his resolution not to make any such concessions, unless the petitions lately proposed by him were granted; and, this being refused by the government, no terms of peace were then arranged between the parties. Among the requests put forth in his petition, the following were the most important: that there should be granted to him the same authority over certain lords of the north that was possessed anciently by the O'Neills; and that some English title, with stipend sufficient to support it honourably, should be bestowed upon him. There was likewise appended, as usual, the unfailing prayer respecting a wife and the lady Frances; and this boon he professed particularly to desire as the means of "increasing his civil education."

By the impolitic step on the part of the government of refusing all these requests, the country was again exposed to the risk of general confusion. But luckily the task of mediating between the crown and this restive subject was entrusted to sir Thomas Cusack, an able lawyer and statesman, who, by moderating the extreme pretensions put forth on both sides, conduced to a result far more satisfactory than under such circumstances could have been expected. Following the advice of this practised counsellor, Shane addressed to the queen an humble but dignified letter, dated from "his camp at Drum Cru," wherein, proffering entire submission, he professed his "sorrow for having offended, and his intention to serve her faithfully to the utmost of his power." This unreserved tender of submission was rendered the more welcome by rumours then prevalent of an approaching war with France. A royal commission was accordingly issued, and articles of peace were forthwith concluded between sir Thomas Cusack, acting

on the part of the queen, and "Lord O'Neill," as the Ulster chief in these formal articles is styled. It was likewise agreed that, until invested by the royal authority with "another honourable name," he should have permission still to retain his ancient title of The O'Neill.

The feeling of relief and satisfaction which this peace with the great chief immediately caused, showed how general was the feeling of terror with which he was viewed, as well by followers as by foes. Throughout his own territory the event was hailed with hearty rejoicings. ⁽¹⁾ The queen, in compliance with his petition, removed her garrison from Armagh, and the chief restored to the dean and chapter the ancient cathedral of that city. All the promises, indeed, which he had made to Cusake were now put in course of fulfilment; and how much he had risen in the favour of the public by this conduct was shown soon after in the general burst of indignation that broke forth when a foul attempt was made to poison him by a vulgar fanatic named Smith. It appeared to have been wholly forgotten, or rather was known perhaps but to a select few, that the very nobleman, still at the head of the Irish government, had basely attempted, but a few years before, to perpetrate, by proxy, the same cowardly act.

Among the temptations held out to the chief, in his late negotiation, that of a peerage, "with augmentation of living," was not the least attractive; and as such an honour seemed now in prospect for him, an eminent herald, named Terens, was ordered to search the ancient chronicles of the land, and draw correctly from them the pedigree of the O'Neills.

While the state of the northern province was thus engaging public attention, the hereditary feud so long fermenting between the earls of Ormond and Desmond threatened to disturb still more than ever the precarious

⁽¹⁾ Letter from Robert Fleming to sir William Cecil (S. P. O.) describing what passed in O'Neill's camp during the absence of sir T. Cusake, and the joyful manner in which the peace was received by O'Neill and his people.

peace of the English Pale. During the sojourn of Desmond in England, such was the state of destitution to which he had been reduced, both by poverty and illness, that in a melancholy letter written by him at that time, this lord of a palatinate, extending to near 600,000 acres, declared that his pecuniary means were reduced to less than 4*l.*, and prayed that his creditors might not be permitted to arrest him on his journey. When restored, however, as he was now, through the favour of the crown, to his own rude but fertile domains, both the means and the spirit for mischief were again abundantly found by him; and the old hatred between him and his neighbour, Ormond, which their nearness in blood appears to have rendered but more bitter, again broke out with fresh force and virulence. One of the first public duties required of Desmond, on his return, was that he should take measures for the speedy reform of certain abuses prevailing in Munster, as well as for the rooting up of those rude antiquated customs, the *Boñagh*, the *Coshery*, the *Risings-out*, the encouragement of rhymers and minstrels, and the use of the *Brehon Law*; which had still been suffered to maintain their ground against all the efforts of legislation and common sense. The unconscious candour with which, in replying to the lords of the council, he proposes to make these new measures subservient to his own domineering views, are characteristic alike of the man and his times. After suggesting that the Irish chiefs will not accede, he thinks, to the proposed reforms, he desires to be furnished with pieces of ordnance and skilful gunners, to batter down the strong places and castles of all these chiefs.

Complaints were made by the earl of Ormond, that the queen's subjects under his rule were daily invaded by Desmond, as well as by his brothers and retinue. He also charged that turbulent nobleman as having been the cause of the long continuance of the odious impost of *Coyne and Livery* ⁽¹⁾; averring, on his own part, that he

(1) "A custom," says Baron Finglas, "which would destroy hell if used

had been just on the point of renouncing that hated tax, when the violent inroads, as he said, of Desmond, had forced him "to continue one evil, in order to withstand the other."

[A. D. 1565.] It was not to be expected that two such neighbours should go on much longer without coming into serious collision. Accordingly, at the beginning of the year 1565, a battle, or rather skirmish, provoked first, it is said, by Desmond, though having a force not half the number of that of his rival, was fought between these two lords. (1) The conflict took place not far from a village named Affane, in the county of Wexford, and ended in Desmond himself being wounded and taken prisoner, and the greater number of his very small force slain. It was on this occasion he is said to have spoken those spirited words which Irish tradition has so proudly preserved. While Ormond's soldiers were carrying their captive, stretched on a bier, from the field of battle, one of them tauntingly asked, "Where is now the great earl of Desmond?" "Where he ought to be," answered the intrepid nobleman; "upon the necks of the Butlers." (2)

The articles of peace lately concluded between O'Neill and sir Thomas Cusack appear to have been observed far more faithfully by the chief himself than by any of those servants of the crown with whom he had to deal. The quiet of the north under his rule was such as, for a long period of years, had not been remembered; and the dean of Armagh, himself an eye-witness of the scene he describes, tells of "the husbandry of all kinds and the sowing of wheat which he saw set forth."

in the same." By this custom the commander of an army and his soldiers were privileged "to take meat and man's meat and money at their pleasures, without any ticket or other satisfaction."

(1) Letter from the earl of Ormond to Cecil (S. P. O.), in which, after stating that Desmond had been overthrown and was in his hands, he prays, "that his prisoner may not be taken from him till he brings him with him to England."

(2) Petition of the earl of Desmond relating the particulars of his conflict with the earl of Ormond, the manner of the attack, the wounds he had received, and the poverty he endures. — S. P. O.

To perform faithfully, indeed, the stipulations of the peace made with Cusake, appears to have been O'Neill's sincere wish; and towards O'Donell, his hated rival and enemy, he acted with a forbearance and self-restraint seldom exercised among his fellow-chiefs. Having, in the course of one of his forays, to pass through O'Donell's country, he treated with respect the ally and favourite of the English even in the person of his own deadliest foe; and carefully abstained from all depredation or encroachment. Notwithstanding this exemplary conduct, none of the promises made to him by Cusake had yet been fulfilled; and it was even feared that the gross injustice was about to be committed of conferring on O'Donell first the distinction of the peerage. Meanwhile, the good temper and moderation of the Ulster chief continued, as usually is the case, proportionate to the strength and goodness of his cause; and in a letter addressed by him to the lords of the council, he declares that he "asks nothing more than that the first peace should be confirmed under the great seal."

The influx of Scots from the Isles into the northern parts of Ireland had increased of late years to a degree that became alarming, and great numbers of them had settled themselves upon the territory to the north of the river Bann. The earl of Leicester had, more than once in his communications with O'Neill, advised him to "do some notable service whereby he might be the better accepted of the queen;" and the chief, entering into Leicester's views, declared that "he could see no greater rebels and traitors than these Scots, and had therefore a mind to do them some mischief." This bold threat, however, he was not immediately able to accomplish, owing to the want especially of boats to convey his force across the river. He lost no time, however, in constructing a number of *culrath*, or rude rafts, and having gained, with their help, possession of a large monastery on the banks of the river, defended that post against the Scots for twenty-four hours, killing near a hundred of

their force. This bold movement having thrown open to him the road to Clondeboy, he proceeded thither without delay, convoked an assembly of the neighbouring gentry, and, after devoting some time to "swearing his people in the Route and the Seven Glynnnes," marched on to the Scottish border. Here he found himself encountered by the Scoto-Irish lord, Sorleboy, whom, after a short conflict, he defeated and made prisoner; and then followed up this prompt success by the destruction of James M'Connel's castle and town. But the arrival of a fresh reinforcement to the Scots, under the command of M'Connel himself, led to a renewal of the combat, and the final result was a decisive victory on the side of O'Neill. Seven hundred of the Scots fell on the field of battle; their leaders, M'Connel and Sorleboy, were made prisoners; and Æneas the Proud was among the number of the slain.

Another brother of the Scottish leader, named Alexander, had sailed to his aid, with a force of 900 men, which he succeeded in disembarking at the island of Ragblin. But, on learning there the defeat which his brothers had met with, he abandoned all hope of repairing the disaster, and immediately withdrew with his troops.

This brilliant and well-timed achievement was hailed by all parties, both English and Irish, with unmixed joy and gratulation. The "greatness of O'Neill" was, even in official circles, acknowledged and lauded; his promised peerage was now no longer to be delayed; and it was even thought expedient that the queen herself should address a letter to him, returning thanks for this great service. That a coalition thus strangely compounded would long hold together was not to be expected; and the first symptoms we find of a relapse into hostile feelings occur in some Instructions addressed by the queen to the lord-deputy, wherein, among other matters, she desires that the chief may be made "to answer all disorders committed since the last pardon;—such as his proceedings against the Scots, without advising the lord-

deputy of his intentions; his using them as his captives, ransoming whom he liked; taking into his own possession their castles and countries, and doing all things as though the countrie and subjects were his own."

From a state of affairs such as these instructions disclose, no chance of peace, order, or obedience could be expected. There was, therefore, an end to the short respite from discord which the kingdom had been allowed, and Shane again stood forth in his own natural character, as open insurgent and outlaw.

In the bold warfare he had hitherto waged against the whole force of the government, O'Neill had fearful odds to contend with; but a yet more trying struggle now awaited him. The present lord-deputy, sir Henry Sydney, was known to have declared, on resuming his post, that the time for temporizing was gone by; that the rebel must be "chastised before he grew more strong and perilous;" and, unless he were speedily put down, "the queen would lose Ireland as her sister had lost Calais."

It is not improbable that Sydney, in addition to these public motives for his conduct, may also have been led to adopt a course of increased severity against O'Neill by the strong persuasion he knew to be abroad that he had himself once joined in league with that arch-rebel. This damaging charge against him was thought to have originated with the earl of Sussex, who likewise had mentioned, it was said, in proof of its truth, that, so far back as the year 1559, sir Henry Sidney had written a letter to the Ulster chief, and had addressed it to him in the old Irish fashion by the title of The O'Neill. Of such importance was this charge considered, from the fear and jealousy with which all Irish customs were regarded, that the queen ordered the earl of Sussex to appear and answer before the council for what he had reported; and explanations having been given on both sides, Sydney was acquitted of all evil intentions. ⁽¹⁾

To induce Shane to hold a parley with him was the

(1) Letter from sir William Cecil to sir Henry Sydney.— S. P. O.

lord-deputy's earnest wish, and the town of Dundalk, at the northern extremity of the English Pale was more than once the place appointed for their meeting. But the sturdy chieftain had long declared that he "would never come to any governor;" and accordingly, the only visits he now paid to the Pale were made with fire and sword. When not thus occupied with the ruling powers, he mostly employed himself in taking revenge on those northern captains who had joined the ranks of the English; and, among them, the objects of his bitterest hatred were O'Donell and Maguire of Fermanagh, from whom he had lately taken their strongest castles, the Liffer and Dundrum, and fortified them for his own defence.

Among the means devised for counterpoising this vast power, it was deemed expedient to raise some of the wealthier captains to the honours of the peerage; and besides O'Donell, who was soon to be created earl of Tyrconnel, Mac Carthy More, a great lord of Munster, surrendered his estates at this time to the queen, and had them reconveyed to him by letters patent, together with the title of earl of Clancarthy. But the descendant of the northern Hy-Nialls looked down on these modern honours with scorn. "The queen," he said, "has made a new earl of Mac Carthy; but I keep a lackey as noble as he. My ancestors were kings of Ulster." In a similar strain of scorn and defiance were his answers to the two commissioners, justice Dowdal and Stukeley, who had been sent to him to propose terms of peace. "He had never made peace," he said, "with the queen, but by her seeking; nor would he surrender a single advantage his arms had won. He would keep from O'Donell his country, from Bagnal the Newrys, and from Kildare his strong fortress of Dundrum. He had sent envoys to represent him in foreign lands. He could bring into the field 1000 horse and 4000 foot; and was able to burn and spoil to Dublin gates, and come away unfought." (1)

(1) Hooker.

But notwithstanding this tone of defiance, the shrewd chieftain could not but see that no ordinary struggle now awaited him; and that while the defection from his banner of some of the highest of his fellow-chiefs, and a general impatience among the rest of the rude arrogance of his sway, had very much thinned and weakened the ranks of the native force, the efforts now made by the lords of the Pale to effect the great object of reducing Ulster to obedience was such as had never, on any former occasion, been witnessed.

On the other hand, with such mild forbearance had O'Neill's offences been hitherto treated, it is hardly surprising that, even though aware of his impending danger, he yet should trust to his often-tried fortune for the means of averting it. Whether the boldness of Shane's character had awakened in the queen a feeling of sympathy, which the picturesque interest of his visit to her court had increased, or whether, as appears more probable, her dislike of large expenditure led her to avoid the inglorious cost of Irish victories, it is certain that hostile movements against O'Neill were much discountenanced by her; and allusions to this known feeling of hers are found in some of the official letters. Thus the lord-deputy, writing to Cecil, says, "It is easy enough to chastise O'Neill, and reform the rest, if the queen will have him subdued." Even at the crisis we have now reached, one of the instructions given to the vice-chamberlain Knowles, whom the queen had sent to consult with Sydney as to the expedition into Ulster, was, that they should consider whether the chief "might be reformed without actual war." It was likewise especially impressed upon Knowles, "that his commission was not to hinder any good conclusion with O'Neill."

In conformity with this enjoined policy, the lord-deputy appointed a parley with the Ulster chieftain at Dundalk, and went thither himself, at the time appointed ⁽¹⁾, attended by the council and a guard of 1000

(1) In a letter of sir Francis Knollys to the lord-deputy, he mentions
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horse; but, after keeping the lord-deputy waiting there some days, his only answer to the vice-regal summons was a sudden irruption with fire and sword into the Pale; and shortly after, to brave still further the English authorities, he laid siege to the town of Dundalk. But here he found himself boldly encountered by John Fitzwilliams, who so well defended the town, that the chieftain lost three ensigns, seventeen of his men, and a great number more who died on coming to the camp.

Meanwhile, the force collected by Sydney, to carry the war into Shane's territories, had been brought to a state of readiness; and the great efforts made to render this force efficient showed how important the service was considered, and how formidable the rebellious subject against whom it was directed.

That the resources of the Pale itself were not thought adequate to the emergency is clear from the measures adopted by the government to have troops forwarded from Bristol as well as from Berwick by the Isle of Man. But the reinforcement deemed the most valuable, less from its numbers than from the ability of its leader, was a corps of 1000 foot, commanded by Edward Randolph, who had been a lieutenant of the ordnance, and was made colonel of this corps. He had also been entrusted with a sum of money, which was to be expended only on the service in Ulster. All being ready for the expedition, Sydney set forth, with the main body of his force, to attack O'Neill, who had lately been adding to his other enormities the gross outrage of burning down the metropolitan church of Armagh. After remaining a short time encamped at the Derry, the lord-deputy left in that town a strong garrison, under the command of Randolph, and then resumed his march through Ulster, taking possession, in the queen's name, of the castles of Donegal, Ballyshannon, Beleck, and Castle Sligo, and delivering them to the keeping of Con O'Donell.

That Sydney was then at Dundalk, "tarrying Shane's coming to parley." — S. P. O.

In the mean time a skirmish had taken place, near Knockfergus, between a part of Shane's force and the garrison left under Randolph's command at the Derry; and whatever advantage accrued to the English from the conflict, it was felt to have been dearly purchased by the loss of their excellent leader—a loss the more remarkable, as he was the only man on the English side killed in that short conflict. ⁽¹⁾

This general hosting into O'Neill's territory, which occupied a period of about six weeks, and must have formed no trifling item of the expense of the queen's wars against that chief, was accompanied by most of the great lords of the Pale. The bishop of Meath, the earls of Desmond, Kildare, Howth, and Louth, the barons of Dunboyne, Tremlestown, and Coraghmore, the lord Fitz-Morris of Kerry, and the White Knight—such was the array of high personages who accompanied the lord-deputy on this signal occasion, “all earnest,” we are told, “in performing good service against O'Neill and other traitors.” The chief himself, whose house at Benboorb, one of the largest of his many mansions, had, at the commencement of this inroad, been burned to the ground, was compelled, as often before had been his resource, to fly to his fastnesses among the hills. But not the less confidently, though thus hunted, did he still trust to the strength of his cause and himself; and it was at this time; while holding proudly his rude court among the woods, that he addressed that remarkable letter to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, desiring their influence with the French monarch to have an army sent to his aid. He had before written to the king of France, requesting that “the perpetual treaty proposed by the late monarch should be concluded, and that five or six thousand French well armed should be sent to assist in expelling the English.” With the same buoyancy

(1) Letter from the lord-deputy to sir William Cecil — “doleful news of the death of colonel Randolph and of the victory honourably achieved.” — S. P. O.

of spirit we find him boasting, at this juncture, to one of his brother chiefs that he "had done quite as much hurt to the English as they to him;" and, at the same time, offering "to assist this chief in winning back his own lands."

However menacing was the show of force put forth by the deputy, had the northern captains but rallied manfully round their chief, although success might not have attended him, his last effort would have been rendered less inglorious. But counting already on his approaching fall, some of the most powerful of his allies and liegemen had espoused the English alliance. O'Connor-Sligo, Mac-Glanogue, the chief O'Reilly, whose son was a hostage in Dublin Castle, Mac-Neil O'More, the lord of the Fews, who had fled by stealth from O'Neill's camp and repaired to Dundalk, and likewise O'Dogherty, a deserter to the English at the flight of Knockfergus,—all these, together with the O'Hanlons and Mac-Mahons, had either joined or were suing to be received by the lord-deputy. Among the most recent deserters to the government was Cormac M'Arduylt, president of Shane's council.

Thus abandoned by almost all his followers, and having no resource left but in his own unconquered spirit, he at last resolved on the desperate experiment of applying for aid to the Scots of Claneboy,—the very people whom, but two years before, he had so wantonly invaded, slaying with his own hand their favourite leader, James Mac-Connel, and forcibly expelling them out of their territory. He likewise applied for help to the earl of Argyle; and it was probably in the course of their communications on this subject that the chief presented to Argyle a suit of apparel which Henry VIII. had given to his father, the late earl of Tyrone.

But while thus earnestly the fallen warrior was suing for succour, the lord-deputy had commenced his march into Tyrone, where such numbers of Shane's followers came in and submitted, as rendered this progress of the English lord a course of peaceful triumph. Most of the

chief's castles were likewise surrendered; and to Cón O'Donell, the special favourite of the English, the safe keeping of all these castles was entrusted.

The career of O'Neill was now hurrying fast to its close, and the last scenes of his stormy life show most strikingly, in the very rashness with which he rushed on ruin, how trusting and fearless was his truly Irish nature. The brilliant victory gained by him over the Scots in the year 1564, though deemed deserving of laud and honour from the queen herself, was viewed with far different eyes by those who had suffered from that deathful fight, and by none was it remembered more bitterly than by Oge Mac Connell, the brother of the Scottish chief whom O'Neill had slain in that battle with his own hand. To find some means of avenging that loss Mac Connell had watched the sinking fortunes of his fated victim; and when the lord-deputy lately marched into Tyrone, was one of the first to offer his services against the rebel. With no less eagerness did the widow of the late chieftain wait and watch for the hour of retribution; and her sole stipulation with O'Donell, to whom she was about to be married, was, that he should revenge her late husband's death.

In this state of mind were they when the first overtures from O'Neill reached them; and shortly after arrived the announcement that he himself was on his way to Mac Connell's camp. They had now within their grasp the object and means of the great revenge for which they thirsted. In order to lull the minds of their guests into a feeling of security, great cheer had been prepared for them; and Shane, on arriving with the few faithful followers he could still boast, found himself hospitably welcomed. But in the course of their rude carousal words of ill omen began to be muttered; the Scots kindled as the remembrance of old wrongs came over their minds; and at length, on a signal given, armed soldiers rushed into the tent, despatched rapidly the few inferior guests, and then buried their weapons savagely in O'Neill. The

body of the chief was wrapped up by them in a common kern's shirt[A. D. 1567.], and then borne away to a ruined church in the neighbourhood, where they consigned it to the earth. But, as even this method of dealing with his remains was thought too honourable, he was again taken up; and the head being severed from the body, was sent to the lord-deputy, who caused it to be fixed upon a pole and set on the top of the castle of Dublin.

The power that enabled this remarkable Irishman—as thoroughly Irish in temper and spirit as in race—so long to baffle the English authorities, lay not so much in mere talent as in that far rarer gift, strength of character, which seldom fails to give those endued with it a mastery over their fellow-men. (1) This commanding faculty the Irish chief possessed in no ordinary degree, and gave proofs of its power in all the widely different positions in which he was placed, whether carousing among his own vassals in the rude halls of Benboorb, or mingling as a guest with the princes and nobles to whom he was presented at the English court.

Though treating in general with haughty contempt the minor potentates of Ulster, and always upholding the poor and the weak against their encroachments, he was not the less zealously—such the ascendancy he had gained over them—obeyed and served by these lords in the field. How strong was the impression he made on the mind of the queen herself, was shown by her retaining towards him the same friendly bearing through all the strife, confusion, and—what in her eyes was even still worse—lavish expenditure, of which he continued for, several years after, to be the unceasing cause. A grateful sense, indeed, of this constant kindness to him had no small share, as he avowed, in prompting him to that expedition against the Scots, which, however chivalrously undertaken, was in him rash and impolitic, and led ultimately to his ruin.

(1) "O'Neill," says sir Henry Sydney in one of his letters, "is the only strong man in Ireland."

In addition to the striking instances already given of the queen's lenity to this great disturber, another still more remarkable may be mentioned, as showing a desire in her even to screen his disloyal deeds. In a letter addressed to Cecil by sir William Fitz-William, in the year 1566 (¹), this functionary ventures to complain that "the council are not permitted to write the truth of O'Neill's evil doings;" and that this was actually the case, appears from the result of an application made at this time to them in favour of the Calwagh O'Donell. This chief stood deservedly high in the favour of the English, and had suffered severely in their cause. But notwithstanding these strong claims, the sum of the answer to his petitions was, that "the lords justices could not help him, because of O'Neill's great friendship in the council."

Among all classes of the people of the Pale, the same friendly feeling towards him prevailed; and it was doubtless with the view of availing himself of this popularity that he made it a point, in his negotiations with sir Thomas Cusake, that the town of Ballygriffin within the Pale should be given up to him, together with such increased means of maintenance as would enable him to make that town his principal place of abode.

Of the acts of crime and violence with which he is chargéable, it can only be said that in viewing lightly such deeds of blood, he was kept in countenance by some far higher pretenders to character in those days; that he himself was near falling the victim of a scheme of murder which the queen's minister had planned, and the queen herself was privy to; and that, frightful as such a crime must be under all circumstances, it becomes doubly hideous when coupled with boasts, as it was in those days, of a new religious era, in whose pure light not only the creed but the moral spirit of ancient Christendom was to be re-awakened.

The more venial but still disgusting excesses imputed

(¹) State Paper Office.

to him furnish a favourite part of the gossip in which the chroniclers of his life delight to indulge. To their pages the curious must be referred for an account of his vast wine-cellar at Dundrum, furnished always, as we are told, with a stock of 200 tuns; as well as of that earthen pit in which, to refresh himself after his potations, he used for hours to stand buried up to the chin.⁽¹⁾ With respect to his daring abduction of the wife of O'Donell, it appears pretty certain that in that lawless adventure the lady herself took at least as willing a part as her formidable gallant.

Of the extent of Shane's scholarship we have no knowledge except through the medium of the English chronicler, by whom we are informed that he could neither read nor write English. There are no letters from his hand extant; but his signature to those written for him by the able divines who formed his council is always penned with peculiar neatness; and the letters themselves, of which several exist⁽²⁾, might be referred to as fine specimens of handwriting.

There had now occurred within short intervals of each other, three great public events,—the death of O'Neill, the expulsion of the Scots from Ireland, and the extinction of the old odious tax of Coyne and Livery,—all bringing with them, if not much hope for the future, at least a welcome and gladdening relief from present evils. The declared intention likewise of the government to take advantage of the quiet prevailing through Ulster, in order to plant in that province English inhabitants, and extend to the bulk of the natives English polity and law, served for a time to awaken fresh interest among the people, and thereby divert them from those factious feuds in which so much of the country's strength had been wasted.

On hearing of the death of the Ulster chief, the lord-

(1) As a matter of curiosity, people went, as we are told, after Shane's death, "to visit his lodgings in the fen where he kept his cattle and men." Letter from the lord-treasurer Winchester to the lord-deputy. — *S. P. O.*

(2) In the State Paper Office.

deputy had despatched messengers to the different English garrisons to give them notice of the important event. Luckily the task of choosing a successor to the late chief was attended in the present instance with but little difficulty, as Tirlogh Lynogh, the allotted heir to his title and possessions, had long been an avowed follower and favourite of the English. In a letter, indeed, to the queen, written but a few weeks before this crisis occurred, we find the lord-deputy highly extolling Tirlogh as "a devote servant to her highness." ⁽¹⁾ By his very first act, however, the new liegeman incurred the anger of his royal mistress; having chosen to found his title to the succession upon the old Irish rule of Captainry, and likewise taken upon himself the forbidden title of The O'Neill. For these offences Tirlogh humbly craved pardon, renounced the name which he professed to have ignorantly assumed, and was again received into favour.

While, from those habits perhaps of submission into which they had been schooled under the strong and single rule of Shane O'Neill, the people of the north were quietly settling into obedience, the results, on the other hand, of divided and jarring government, were no less exemplified in the state to which Munster had been reduced under the joint but discordant dominion of the earls of Ormond and Desmond.

At a period somewhat later of his able ministry, sir Henry Sydney, with the view of informing himself of the actual state of Munster, took a journey into that province, and the account he has left of all that he witnessed, during his progress, presents such a picture of misery, lawlessness, and abused power, as no mere outline could do justice to, nor aught but the actual details themselves could picture adequately to the reader. It might have been expected that, at least in the territory of Ormond,

(1) Of Tirlogh's lady, the following notice occurs in a letter of Sydney's to the queen:—"And for that his wife hath been an instrument and chief counsellor to frame him to this order of obedience and dutiful manner of proceeding, I humbly beseech your majesty to bestow upon her a garment."

brought up as that lord had been at the English court, and professing high zeal in the queen's service, some tolerable advance had been made at this time towards the adoption of English custom and law. But no such progress was any where visible; and of the few abortive attempts at civilisation that had been tried, there remained but the melancholy traces,—large tracts of land, once tilled and pastured, but now lying waste and uninhabited; while of the English population the greater part was thinned away, partly by slaughter, partly by banishment, and a great number through actual famine. That much of this ruin and wretchedness was the fruit of Ormond's misgovernment may be implied, from another complaint made by Sydney, who says, so grossly had the liberties granted to him in the last reign been abused, that, unless a considerable reform took place, all those privileges must be resumed.

When such was the best sample produce of civilised life which even this favourite of the English court could offer his subjects, some slight notion may be formed of the sort of rule that must have prevailed under his brother Palatine, Desmond (¹)—a nobleman who as the queen's letters significantly describe him, “was not brought up where law and justice had been frequented.”

The principal object of sir Henry Sydney, in taking this journey into Munster, was to inquire into some charges of tyranny which had lately been brought against Desmond, and adopt means to prevent in future such daring stretches of power. He sent, accordingly, to require the presence of that earl, who, not suspecting the real purpose of the summons, came to meet him at Youghall; and we have an account from Sydney himself (²) of all that ensued on this occasion, given with that fresh-

(¹) Of the feud between these two earls, Camden thus briefly sums up the history:—“As they were upon the level as to power and interest, and had spirits formed in the same mould, so they resolved the matter should be decided not by the best law but the longest sword.”

(²) Letter of sir Henry Sydney to the lords of the council in England.

ness and authenticity which such memorials made at the moment can alone pretend to possess.

Taking along with him the reluctant earl, and still attended by a guard of 200 horse which had accompanied him from Dublin, the lord-deputy continued his progress through the south of Ireland, turning to account whatever information he was able to collect on the way. While passing through the county of Cork, of which one third, says Sydney, "was held by Desmond under his rule, or rather tyranny," they were met by all the first lords and gentlemen of that county,—the viscount Barry, the lord Roche, the lord Courey, Mae Carthy Reagh, and others, who, though all of them great land-owners, and owing immediate service only to the crown, were, as they alleged, so injured and "exacted upon" by Desmond, as to have "become in effect his thralls and slaves."

Among other charges brought against him, it was alleged that he had levied men and money for lawless purposes, and had even persisted, in open defiance of the late act of the legislature, to extort from his wretched dependents the odious tax of Coyne and Livery. When expostulated with, by Sydney, on these offences, he answered haughtily, that "not for any one would he reduce his force of Gallo-glasses, nor relinquish Coyne and Livery; that where, in former times, he had but one Irish soldier, he would now keep five; nor doubted that, before midsummer, he would have 5000 in the field."

This menacing tone, however, was but of short duration. The self-willed earl soon saw that he had got into hands far too strong for him; and, as they passed through the county of Limerick, still accompanied by those lords and gentlemen who had joined them, the desolation they everywhere witnessed, the silent ruin that reigned around, told more forcibly than could any eloquence, the havoc and misery brought by misrule on that devoted land.

On the arrival of the party at Kilmallock, the ancient

seat of the earls of Desmond, there wanted not omens to tell its lord; as he entered the gate, that he now was received there, not as master but as prisoner. Finding it useless to assume any longer a tone of defiance, he now had recourse to abject submission; — showing how kindred are the extremes of arrogance and servility, and how ready are those who play the despot towards others to shrink and quail in the presence of power themselves. When next summoned before the queen's representative, he sunk abjectly upon his knees, and freely confessing all his late misdeeds, remained voluntarily in that humbled position during the remainder of their interview. In consequence of the important results of this journey, Desmond was placed under strict custody; and, in this state, was led along by the lord-deputy through Limerick and Galway to Dublin.

While the earl himself was thus cruelly paraded through the country, the fate of his countess, as described by herself, was hardly less painful and cruel. In a letter addressed by her to the commissioners in Munster, ⁽¹⁾ she describes the country as being in such a condition, that “few can trust a father, a son, or brother;” and adds, that she herself “can scarcely abide two days in one place, but is trudging by day and partly by night.” ⁽¹⁾

Whatever may be thought of that system of policy, on the part of England, which rendered such bold strokes of power necessary, the vigour and promptitude shown by Sydney on this occasion was worthy of the fame he bears as a statesman; and the striking manner in which his seizure was performed, is thus well described in his own words: “It seemed the more honourable way for her majesty to have him thus apprehended, as it were, in the midst of his own dominions, and from thence publicly conveyed as a captive.” ⁽¹⁾

But this summary act of power, though highly com-

(1) State Paper Office.

mended throughout the Pale for its well-timed vigour and decision, was viewed by the queen with so much displeasure, that Sydney, anxious to explain and justify his conduct, entreated earnestly to be allowed to return to England. This request having been granted, he hastened to present himself at the court of Elisabeth, attended by his prisoner, the earl of Desmond, by the son of the late baron Dungannon, and likewise by O'Carrol, O'Connor Sligo, and other Irish chieftains. At the time of their arrival, the queen was residing at Hampton Court, and happened, as a chronicler of those days relates, to be looking out of the window when these lords and gentlemen made their appearance. Much surprised at this numerous cavalcade, she learned, on inquiring of her attendants, that it was the lord-deputy of Ireland who came thus grandly escorted. "And well he may," remarked the queen, "for he holds two of the best places in the kingdom;" alluding to his being lord president of Wales as well as chief governor of Ireland.⁽¹⁾

That Sydney succeeded in satisfying the queen on all those points connected with Desmond to which she had objected, may be implied from the results that followed. The earl himself was committed to the Tower; his brother, sir John, being sent for to Ireland, was likewise, but as it seems unjustly, made prisoner; and Sydney returned with increased honour to resume a station to which his name and high character still continue to lend historical lustre.

The removal of Desmond from the scene of contention made little difference in the zeal and intensity with which it raged. His active kinsman, James Fitz-Maurice, who combined with equal fervour in the Irish cause, far more subtlety and address, as well as more skill in martial affairs, suffered no pause to chill the ferment which the

(1) "He held both the chief offices of Ireland and Wales together, which was as much honour as a subject could well have; those offices being never before or since held by any at one and the same time. — *Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sydneys.*"

late seizure of his popular kinsman had caused. He had acted hitherto rather as a partisan than a leader. But, seeing the head of his illustrious family led a prisoner to England, he felt that on him the task of vengeance had now devolved. Taking the command of his kin, the Geraldines, he joined in league with the Munster chiefs, announced through his emissaries to the Catholic powers of Europe ⁽¹⁾, that their call to arms had found a response in that sainted seat of the ancient creed of Christendom, Ireland.

To meet the dangers which this outbreak threatened, the earl of Ormond was sent over from England; and, raising a force at his own charge, as was the custom of this stately nobleman, proceeded to crush before it got head, this daring movement. In the very face, however, of the earl's threats, Fitz-Maurice succeeded, by a native mixture of valour and cunning, in gaining possession of the rich town of Kilmallock; and, after burning it down all but the very walls, and carrying away all its treasures, contrived to escape with his booty and followers to those strongholds among the hills, from whence he had often before laughed his pursuers to scorn.

(1) At the time of Sydney's progress through Ireland, an invasion under Fitz-Maurice was daily expected by the Irish. "It is reported," says Sydney, in a letter to the queen, "that James Fitz-Maurice is in readiness with force to invade this your realm. It is said he bringeth with him 4000 shot and dyvers principall gentlemen of Fraunce."—*Sydney Papers*.

CHAPTER I.

ELIZABETH — *continued.*

Negotiations between Ireland and Spain. — Causes of alarm. — Presidency courts appointed in Munster and Connaught. — Papal bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. — Submission of native chieftains. — Sir Peter Carew and the Cavanaghs. — Vigorous measures adopted by sir John Perrot. — Submission of Fitz-Maurice. — Desmond liberated from the tower. — He is committed to prison in Dublin. — Sir Edward Fitton. — Flight of Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond. — His restoration to royal favour. — Abolition of chieftainry. — Retention of the title of "the O'Neill." — English settlers in Ulster. — Failure of the scheme. — Renewed attempts to effect this object. — Opposed by the lord-deputy. — The earl of Essex sails for Ireland. — Skirmishes with the natives. — Several of the English officers return to England. — Dissensions in the camp of Essex. — Alleged treachery and cruelty of Essex. — His death. — Supposed to have been poisoned. — Financial schemes. — Remonstrance of the gentry of the Pale. — Delegates committed to the tower. — The obnoxious tax abolished. — Bull of Gregory XIII. depriving Elizabeth of her title to the kingdom of Ireland. — Singular adventures of Thomas Stukely. — His influence with the Pope. — His expedition to Ireland. — He accompanies Sebastian to Africa. — His death. — James Fitz-Maurice. — His foreign negotiations. — Obtains assistance from pope Gregory XIII. — Sails for Ireland. — Their welcome by the natives. — Proclamation against Fitz-Maurice and his associates. — His pilgrimage to the holy cross — His encounter with sir William de Burgo. — His death. — Tribute to his eminent qualities. — Sir William Drury succeeds Sydney as lord-deputy. — The O'Connors and O'Moores. — Rory Oge O'Moore. — Ineffective endeavours for his capture. — Observations on his character. — Departure from Ireland of sir Henry Sydney. — Murder of Davels by John of Desmond. — Sir John Desmond assumes the command of the Spaniards at Smerwicke. — Active hostilities. — The Irish routed. — Desmond declared a traitor by proclamation. — He attacks and plunders Youghal. — His falling fortunes. — Amiable character of his countess. — Execution of his youngest son. — Lord Grey de Wilton succeeds to the government of Ireland. — His expedition into Wicklow. — Disastrous result. — Exultation of the natives. — Arrival of reinforcements of men, arms, and money. — The garrison attacked and put to the sword. — Destitution of the earl of Desmond. — Rancour of Ormond towards him. — Stories of his wonderful escapes. — Rewards offered for his head. — His death. — Observations on his character.

We have seen that the spirit of religious strife which, in most of the kingdoms of Europe had been called into life by the great schism of the Reformation, extended but slowly its disturbing influence to Ireland. It was not

till the period we have now reached, that the leading Catholic Powers became alive to the obvious importance of enlisting Irish alliance in the formidable league which had long been gathering against the power and creed of England. When Shane O'Neill addressed his letter to Charles IX., requesting an aid of 5000 or 6000 French, had the state of public affairs been then ripe for such intervention, what a change might have been made in the course and colour of Ireland's destiny! It was to Spain that the confederate forces under Fitz-Maurice now looked for aid, and James Mac Caghwell, the titular archbishop of Cashel, was sent, accompanied by the youngest son of the earl of Desmond, as ambassador to the Spanish monarch, to ask his aid "for the rescue of their country from the tyranny and oppression of queen Elizabeth." (1)

Between Spain and the south-western parts of Ireland, the communication; on matters of commerce, had been of very ancient date, and the habits of intercourse thus naturally induced between the two countries were now viewed by the English authorities with jealous suspicion and fear. To add to these panic alarms, some Spanish ships, it was said, had lately come to the earl of Clancarrow, and, after leaving in his hands a large quantity of harquebusses, targets, sword-blades, and other weapons, engaged to return again before Christmas with a further supply of arms. This recently created peer, whom Sydney well describes in one of his letters as being "a new earl made out of an old rebel," counted so sanguinely on the effects of Spanish intervention, as to take upon himself already the state and title of king of Munster.

Among the many useful changes and reforms which

(1) At the time of Sydney's progress through Ireland, the prospects of Fitz-Maurice were in their most promising state. "James Fitzmorris," he says, "lyeth in St Maloes, and keepeth a great porte, himselfe and familye well apparellled and full of money. He hath oft intelligence from Rome and out of Spaine, and is oft visited by men of good countenance."—*Letters and Memorials of State*.

Ireland owed to the zeal and sagacity of sir Henry Sydney, one of the most important was that suggested by him in the year 1565, when, through his advice, there was established in each of the two provinces, Munster and Connaught, a presidency court, or inferior government, furnished with a council and all other adjuncts of royal authority, and wielding a power within its own district almost co-ordinate with that of the viceroy himself. The professed object of these new jurisdictions was, to extend to a wider range among the natives the presence and agency of English law. But, unluckily, it was only with the rigours of that law, and not with its civilising benefits, that the wretched Irish were made acquainted. In the hands of the president lay irresponsibly the power of life and death; and to cite but one instance of the enormous authority placed in his hands, to him was entrusted the power of torturing persons accused of high treason, in order to extort from them either confessions of their own guilt, or accusations of their accomplices.

At the time of the establishment of these new courts, Sir Warham St. Leger had been selected by Sydney for the office of lord president of Munster; but to this choice the queen strongly objected, giving as her reason that St. Leger favoured the earl of Desmond, and had shown himself hostile to Ormond. The appointment was therefore left in abeyance until the period we now have reached, when sir John Perrot, who was said to be the natural son of Henry VIII., and had highly distinguished himself, not less for great bodily prowess than for his skill in political affairs, was chosen to preside over the council of Munster; while sir Edward Fitton, whose known severity of character was not the least prized of his qualifications for the office, was made lord president of Connaught.

The bull issued by Pope Pius V., pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the queen, and releasing her subjects from their oath of allegiance,

though little heeded even by the Catholic Powers of Europe, was hailed in Ireland with feelings of pleasure and hope; and James Fitz-Maurice and his brave confederates, notwithstanding the formidable Englishman they had now to contend with, prepared to encounter him in their own country style of warfare; to hover round every step of the intruder's course, and, if not prevent, at least embarrass and render inglorious his success.

The new lord president, sir John Perrot, who arrived in Dublin early in this year, proceeded without loss of time to attack the insurgent force; and the short visit he paid to the ruins of the town of Kilmallock on his way, "the sight," to use his own words, "of its fair buildings all defaced," not a little whetted the stern purpose with which, it was well known, he had come prepared to act. While such was the adversary they had to contend with, they were, themselves, considerably reduced in strength, not only by the thinning process of the sword, but, still more destructively, by the defection or submission of some of their leaders. Thus, the earl of Clancarre, who lately, at the head of the southern chieftains, had proclaimed himself king of Munster, was now reconciled to the government, having come to a recent session of the parliament, and there, in the presence-chamber, and also at Christ Church, made, as the historian expresses it, "most pathological submissions on his knees." In like manner two of the brothers of the earl of Ormond, sir Edward and Piers Butler, who had also taken part with the insurgents, were now, through the earl's mediation, graciously pardoned by the queen.

In Leinster, the spirit of resistance had been for a short time kept alive by a fierce struggle between the Cavanaghs, a powerful sept of that province, and sir Peter Carew, an English knight, who had come to lay claim, by right of inheritance, to the barony of Idrone, which had long been in the possession of that warlike sept. He asserted a right likewise to some other Irish

seignories, as well as to the title also of Marquis of Cork. But, leaving these claims to future arbitrement, he now exerted his whole suit and urgency in the sole case of Idrone; and, accordingly, by a decree of the lords of the council, which was confirmed by the lord-deputy, this ancient barony, which had been taken from his family in the reign of Richard II., was now restored to his possession. The process of rooting out the native inhabitants from their homes and tenements to make way for the new settlers from England, was not accomplished without a sanguinary struggle. According to the usual course in Ireland, the work of the law was followed and finished by that of the sword; and the dexterous severity shown by Carew, in his mode of eradicating the native holders of the restored territory, so much recommended him to the governing powers, that, though coming originally on his own private concerns, he was shortly after, as governor of Leighlin, entrusted with military command.

The reduction thus to tranquillity of almost the whole of the kingdom by those able ministers, both civil and military, who then conducted its affairs, left to the insurgents under Fitz-Maurice little to hope except from foreign aid. Yet, how much they had been enabled to effect, though wanting all other resources, by hearts warm in the cause and hands ready to second them, may be collected from the written avowal of their great enemy, sir John Perrot, who complains heavily in his journal of the hard service in which he had been engaged against Fitz-Maurice; describes his marches by night, his sleeping on the cold grass like a common soldier, and enjoying no rest day or night from the daring incursions of this active rebel. It is clear also from another of the grievances complained of by him, that, among the lords and gentlemen of his army, there were some who secretly favoured the Irish, and often conveyed to them information; while, of the movements of the rebel force, he could seldom acquire any intelligence.

To extend our notice to the various skirmishes and encounters which took place, in the course of this war, between the lord president and Fitz-Maurice, would be a task of as little instruction as pleasure. The menace of Perrot, that he would "hunt the fox out of his hole," affords some notion of the sort of struggle, betwixt the pursuers and the pursued, by which, at this period, the whole of Munster was convulsed. It was soon after his arrival from England that Perrot first tried this mode of warfare, when, going in quest of the fugitive Fitz-Maurice, he marched a force through the defiles of Aherlow, a wooded district at the northern base of the Galtees. From that period the same sort of flying conflict continued to be waged between the parties; and a small accession of strength gained by Fitz-Maurice in some "Red Shanks," or Scottish Highlanders, enabled him still, though nearly exhausted, to maintain his struggle a little longer. How great were the sufferings endured by himself and his comrades in arms before they surrendered to their pursuer, may well be conceived from the picture left us of Perrot's frightful activity: — "In the bogs (says the chronicler) he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plains he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them."

Worn out, at length, both in frame and spirit, Fitz-Maurice saw that he had no other resource than to proffer submission and sue for peace; and the lord president happening to be then at Castletown Roche, in the county of Cork, there went to wait upon him two of Fitz-Maurice's chief confederates, the late seneschal of Imokelly and Ony M'Richard, who, bringing with them their leader's son, prayed the lord president to accept the boy as a pledge of the father's "repentant mind for his undutifulness" towards the queen. The reduced state to which Perrot himself had now been brought by the want of victuals and ammunition, rendered this proposal a welcome relief to him; and orders were is-

sued that, within two days, Fitz-Maurice should meet him at Kilmallock.

There, in the church of that memorable town, which, but a few months before, the Irish leader had sacked and burned, he now made his submission in the sight of all the people, kneeling down before the lord-president, who held the point of his sword to Fitz-Maurice's heart. In this abject posture he proceeded to make his confession and submission; accused the earl of Clancarrow and sir Edmond Butler of having led him into rebellion, and declared that, "with the eyes of his heart sore weeping and bewailing, he acknowledged himself to have rebelled most wickedly against God, most undutifully against his prince, and most unnaturally against his native country." He then concluded thus passionately his oration:—"And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burned, I kiss, and on the same I lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon the view of my most mischievous course."

From the time of Desmond's commitment as a state prisoner to the Tower, little appears to have been known or heard of him until the period we have now reached; when, although still detained in England, he had been released by the queen from prison, and was even occasionally received by her as a guest at Hampton Court. The contrast not uncommon in men of bold and adventurous lives, between the stormy character of their public course and the gentleness of their manner in private, was shown remarkably in the instance of Desmond, whose quiet and simple demeanour so far imposed even on the penetrating Elizabeth as to lead her to "have good hope of his truth and constancy."⁽¹⁾

But there was another sort of contrast, in which also

(1) "Th' Erle of Desmonde hath bene before her majesty, whom her highness liketh well for his playnnes; and hath good hope of his truth and constancie." Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley.—*Wright's Original Letters*.

this lord followed but too closely his predecessors, — namely, the enormous extent of his territorial possessions and his almost total want of pecuniary means. We have seen that, in the time of Henry VIII., so much distressed for decent apparel was the earl of Desmond of that day, that to the charity of the lord-deputy, Sentleger, he was indebted for the clothes he daily wore : nor does the lord of whom we are now treating appear to have been in much better circumstances ; as we find the queen at this time promising him some new apparel, with, likewise, a present of a sum of money.

Shortly after these occurrences the earl and his brother were sent, accompanied by sir Edward Fitton, to Ireland. They had been led, it seems, to expect that their destination was to Munster ; but, when at sea, they learned, to their sorrow, that the ship was steering for Dublin, and, on their arrival in that city, were both cast into prison.

It was about the same time that the sons of the earl of Clanricarde, ever ready to join in revolt, and finding now abundant fuel for it in the intolerable severity of sir Edward Fitton, broke out openly in rebellion, and summoned a thousand Scottish mercenaries to their aid. The earl himself, who was then in prison for a similar outbreak, made offer to the Government, that, if they would release him from confinement, he would lend them aid in controlling and pacifying his sons. To this proposal the lord president assented ; but no sooner had the father and the sons got again together than his promised mediation was entirely forgotten.

Among other unlucky victims of Fitton's rigour was Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, who, unable to endure any longer such tyranny, concerted secretly with some other great lords a scheme of resistance and revenge. His plans were all arranged, and the mode of despatching the lord president was all prepared, when, on the eve of the intended revolt, a courteous message arrived from that personage, announcing his intention to come, at-

tended by a few friends, to dine with Thomond on the following day. The earl's conscience being then restless and on the watch, this sudden announcement filled him with alarm. All his plans, he took for granted, had been discovered. In the social proposal of the lord president he saw but a rebuke of his own treacherous plot; and the promised company, as viewed through his fears, were not guests, but armed avengers and foes. The only resource that, under this impression, he saw left for him was immediate departure from the kingdom. Accordingly he fled without further delay into France, leaving the public, both Irish and English, to guess in vain the cause of his flight.

In the meanwhile his brother conspirators kept prudently their common secret; and when a sufficient time had elapsed to let the danger all blow over, the earl ventured to confess to Norris, the English ambassador then in France, the whole of the circumstances of the case. Through the mediation of this minister he was graciously pardoned by the queen; and his public services were thenceforth worthy of all praise.

A favourable opening having been made by the death of O'Neill for the introduction into Ulster of English polity and law, measures were taken to effect that long-desired object; and in a parliament held at this time, by the lord-deputy, an act was passed for the attainder of Shane O'Neill, by which more than half of the province of Ulster was resumed and vested in the crown. By another act of this parliament the old clannish system of chieftainry or captainship, on which the Irish so fondly prided themselves, was, together with the title and privileges conveyed by it, declared to be entirely abolished.

But, stringently as these measures of reform were meant to act, they proved, in the end, almost entirely ineffective; for, although the greater part of Ulster was declared to be forfeited to the crown, no immediate seizure was made. Even the abbeyes and religious houses were still left in full possession of their lands, and the

three northern bishopries, Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe, continued to be granted by the Pope. No less abortive was the law that had been passed for the abolition of Irish captainships, owing to the opening left for evasion by the exception of all such chieftaincies as should be granted by letters patent from the crown. Even the long-dreaded title of The O'Neill, which the act of attainder had marked out for extinction, declaring the assumption of it to be high treason, was allowed to be adopted by Shane's successor, Tirlagh Lynogh;—such vitality was there still inherent in the ancient customs and institutions of the land, and so unresistingly were even the proud ministers of Elizabeth forced to bow before their strength.

The course adopted by the earl of Sussex in the preceding reign, for the reduction into shires of all those lands so cruelly seized from the septs of Leix and Offaley, was now resumed, though with much less severity in the process, by sir Henry Sydney, then lord-deputy, who added seven more shires, provided with sheriffs and other ministers of the law, to those which had previously been constituted.

Still more to extend the range of English jurisdiction, those who desired to hold of the crown were empowered to surrender their estates and receive them back to be thenceforth held by English tenures and services.

Among the plans suggested for remedying the still lawless state of Ulster, that of planting English settlers in those parts of the province lately forfeited to the crown was thought to promise the most useful results; and a fair trial was afforded to this experiment by sir Thomas Smith, a distinguished scholar and statesman, who, having obtained for his natural son a grant of lands in the peninsular territory called Ardes, sent him thither with a body of colonists, and under circumstances which gave fair promise of success. But this experiment entirely failed; the number of the settlers being insufficient for self-defence, they were overpowered by the natives,

and young Smith himself was foully slain by one of the O'Neills.

In this scheme of sir Thomas Smith, as well as in that which soon after followed, we find specimens, on a small scale, of that marauding spirit which, under the pretext of colonization, had at this period become prevalent. So much had that vast field for spoliation, which had been thrown open by the discovery of America in the preceding century, put to flight all honest notions of property and ownership, that, as in the instance afforded by Ireland, the right of the natives to their own lands was without any scruple superseded; and jobbing companies, or individual speculators, became the dispensers of landed property. The motives professed by sir Thomas Smith, in his colonizing scheme, were "a feeling of compassion for neglected Ireland," and a wish "to humanise her semi-barbarous people." But whatever delusion this flattering project at first produced, it was but of short duration. Sir Thomas commenced his promised scheme for the edification of the natives by despoiling them of all their lands, and planting in place of the native proprietors English horse and foot soldiers.

It is nowise surprising, therefore, that a people thus shamefully treated should in their turn resort to fierce, lawless revenge; and it was not long before the son of sir Thomas Smith fell by the hand of one of the O'Neills.

Though such was the issue of this experiment, there still appeared in the colonizing scheme sufficient promise to attract the lovers of gain and enterprise; and Walter Devereux, lately created Earl of Essex, a nobleman looked to with high expectations by his own circle, made offers to the queen to aid in planting with English settlers the district of Clancboy, in Ulster. The number of settlers for this undertaking, comprising tenants and soldiers, was to be 2000, one half provided by the queen, and the other by Essex; and the colony, as soon as complete, was to be equally divided between them. But when the design had advanced thus far, the increase of power it

would give to Essex began to be regarded with much jealousy; and more especially by sir William Fitzwilliam, then lord-deputy, to whom the presence in that country of a nobleman invested with independent authority, and supported by a large force, might prove a source, it was feared, of humiliation, if not of collision and strife.

While, for these reasons, no effort was spared by Fitzwilliam to prevent this threatened encroachment, it was, on the other hand, an object with Leicester, who wished to rid himself of so powerful a rival as the favoured Essex, to take this specious mode of removing him from the arena of court favour. This object he contrived to accomplish by inducing the queen to consent that Essex should receive his commission from the lord-deputy; by which simple process the pride of the latter was duly consulted, while the minister enjoyed the advantage of having removed a powerful rival, and on a service in which success was hardly less fatal than failure.

(A. D. 1573.) In the summer of this year the earl of Essex, having borrowed of the queen ten thousand pounds, on a mortgage of his lands in Essex, set out on his Irish expedition, having a short time before informed the lord-deputy that he was coming to take possession of the forfeited lands in the Glens, Routes, and Clanaboys. He likewise ordered that the frontiers of the Pale in that direction should be kept well guarded, and proclamation made that the object of his coming was, not to harm the Irish, but to expel the Scots. So strong were the hopes entertained of the result of this enterprise, that several persons of high rank and station, among whom were the lords Darcy and Rich, sir Henry Knowles, and the three sons of the lord Norris, accompanied the earl in his journey, and, with all that confidence in their own views and hopes which ignorance is apt to inspire, landed at Carrickfergus.

Although the arrival on the northern coast of so numerous a force, and so nobly commanded, might well have terrified even the dwellers of that hardy region, no

such apprehension appears to have been manifested. The O'Neills, ready, as usual, at the sound of their national war-cry, assembled in force around their chieftain, Brian Mac-Phelim, who, together with Hugh, the son of Mathew earl of Dungannon, and Tirlogh Lynogh, the Irish lord of Tyrone, so much harassed the forces of Essex by constant skirmishes, in their country's manner, that at length the patience both of officers and of men was quite exhausted; and the lord Rich, sir Henry Knowles, and other associates in the adventure, were glad to escape, on various pretences, back to England.

But not even from the natives did Essex suffer much more severely than from his own professed followers and abettors, many of whom, acting as it seems on secret instructions from England, were privately thwarting those very measures of their leader which they openly affected to sanction and approve. The consequence was, that the only results of this showy expedition, from which either honour or advantage could arise, were, first, the seizing from Con O'Donnell that strong-hold of the family chiefs, called the Liffey, and a brisk encounter not long after with Bryan Mac-Phelim, in which nearly two hundred of the Irish were killed, and the chieftain himself and his wife made prisoners. To add still further to the earl's ill luck, those supplies of money which he had made such sacrifices to obtain were now almost entirely exhausted.

The plan of appointing, in cases of emergency, a great officer, whether styled marshal or lieutenant, with powers equal nearly to those of the lord-deputy, but ceasing with the immediate occasion, had been lately much recommended, as suiting peculiarly the fitful nature of Irish warfare, and likewise entailing no fixed burden on the public expenditure. But the success of this state expedient, as tried in the instance of the present earl marshal, was not thought likely to prompt a repetition of the experiment; for, notwithstanding the high station and reputable character of that lord, his course, on the whole,

appears to have been as inefficient as it was pretending and pompous. There are also charges against him of a far graver character. In the most trustworthy of our native annals an act of atrocity is attributed to him, which, if the annalist may be relied upon, would prove that this earl, though apparently so feeble both in council and in the field, could yet be fearfully strong in treachery and crime. After the skirmish in which he defeated the *Claneboy* chief, *Phelim Mac Bryan*, and made both him and his wife prisoners, articles of peace were concluded between them, which seemed for a time to promise quiet and mutual good will. But how false was this show of amity, on the part of the English, appears from the catastrophe which is said to have soon after followed. A grand festival was given by *Bryan*, at which the lord-deputy and the earl of *Essex* attended as guests, and all for a while wore the appearance as well of good faith as of good cheer. But, on the third day of this lengthened feast, the earl suddenly seized, as his prisoners, *Phelim* himself, his brother and wife; and, before the chief's eyes, put all his people, men, women, and young maidens, to the sword. *Phelim* himself and his wretched relatives were then conveyed, it is added, to *Dublin*, where they were all executed and cut into quarters.

To dwell in detail on this second visit of *Essex* to *Ireland*, the main object of which was to aid the queen in their joint scheme for the settlement of *Claneboy*, would be a needless tax on the reader's patience. After some efforts to bring into shape their purposed plan, there arose a difference between them as to the proportions in which their 2000 settlers were to be distributed; the earl requiring that 1300 should be allotted to *Ulster* alone, leaving but 700 for the defence and service of the remaining parts of the realm. To this unequal distribution the queen strongly objected, and, after some further discussion, the whole scheme was abandoned; not without a strong protest from *Essex* against the injustice, as he thought, inflicted not only upon himself, but on those

loyal lords of Ulster, O'Donell, Mac Mahon, and others, "whom on the pledged word of the queen, he had, as it were, undone, abused, and bewitched with fair promises."

[A. D. 1576.] At Dublin, from whence these complaints were addressed to Sydney, the earl was seized with an attack of dysentery, and died in that city. It was strongly suspected that he had been carried off by poison, through the procurement of his bitter enemy, Leicester; and this lord's marriage, shortly after, to Essex's widow very much strengthened the suspicion. The historian, Camden, indeed, informs us that the person generally supposed to have been the poisoner was once pointed out to him in public. ⁽¹⁾

In order to meet the increasing expenditure of the government, a scheme of finance was, at this time, devised by the lord-deputy, which put it in his power to levy assessments by royal authority, without any reference to the will or sanction of parliament. The discontent which this measure produced affords the first instance of open opposition to government which the history of the parliament of the Pale presents; and to Elizabeth, who found in her English house of commons all the pliancy of a Turkish divan, this restive defiance was the more irritating from the contrast.

Persevering, however, in their opposition, the gentry of the Pale sent agents to London to lay their remonstrance before the throne. But the only result that followed this step was the commitment of these Irish delegates to the Tower; and orders were sent at the same time to the lord-deputy, to commit to custody, in Dublin castle, all who had signed the remonstrance. In this stern and defying manner did the queen assert the rights of her prerogative; though once, we are told, during the proceedings on this question, so much was she touched by the picture presented to her of all the poor Irish had suffered from these exactions, that she ex-

(1) *Vidimus tamen hominem tanquam venenarium, digito publicè demonstrari.*

claimed, "Ah, how I fear lest it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions, 'You it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds but to wolves!'"

Whether from any such feeling, or, as seems more likely, from a fear of irritating too much the Irish in the present critical state of England's foreign relations, the queen, content with asserting her right to this form of tax, forbore from practically enforcing it. The cess ceased to be collected; a composition for seven years was readily agreed to by the lords and gentry of the Pale, and the malecontents were all discharged from prison.

In the bull of Pope Pius V. (1570), depriving Elizabeth of all right to the English crown, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, there was no mention made of Ireland. But his successor, Gregory XIII. [A. D. 1576.], supplied the omission; and retaliating upon England her aid to rebels both in France and in the Netherlands, declared Elisabeth to have forfeited the crown as well of Ireland as that of England. This solemn instrument, which, in addition to its other powers, gave to those employed in executing it the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders, was attended, in this instance, with but little success; and among the few who combined to carry it into effect were the ever active and enterprising James Fitz-Maurice, and an English adventurer of strange life and fortunes, Thomas Stukely.

One of the earliest speculations of this scheming personage was an expedition, in which he was joined by a number of enterprisers, for the discovery of "certain lands in the far west, towards Terra Florida;" and after this wild project had failed "for want of money," he contrived to inspire in the lord-deputy, sir Henry Sydney⁽¹⁾, so warm an interest in his favour, that this eminent man recommended him strongly to the

(1) Such was Sydney's opinion of Stukely, that, during the height of Shane O'Neill's rampant career, he advised that the task of managing that restive subject should be committed to Stukely:—"I know no man," he

queen. With a quicker insight, however, into character than was shown by her minister, Elizabeth refused to extend to him her patronage; and after trying, but also without success, to obtain the stewardship of Wexford, he threw off at once all allegiance to the queen, and commenced a course of aspiring adventure far more akin to the freaks of fiction than to any events known in real life.

Having obtained from the Spanish ambassador some letters of introduction, he repaired immediately to the court of Spain; and finding that Philip's intended invasion of Ireland was to take place at the end of the spring, he lent all his aid to the project, and gave the monarch most cheering assurances of the zealous support of the Irish chiefs. We have seen that, on the outbreak of James Fitz-Maurice, in the year 1570, he despatched, as his emissary to Spain, Maurice Reagh, the Catholic archbishop of Cashel; and this prelate was now found by Stukely still in that country, enjoying a pension from the Spanish monarch, and waiting the turn of public events. It is clear, however, that though thus situated, the archbishop encouraged but little the scheme of invading Ireland; alleging as his reason that "he did not wish to see his country under the power of Philip." In like manner, when hearing the king boast, on Stukely's authority, of the glad reception his army would meet from the Irish nobility, the honest archbishop, it is said, quietly warned him "not to be too light of belief."

From Spain Stukely proceeded to Rome, and there ingratiated himself so quickly with Pope Pius as to command, in a short time, his entire confidence. Entering eagerly into all Stukely's plans, his holiness lavished upon him a shower of Irish titles (!), creating him baron

says, "if the queen would have peace with O'Neill, that better could please him, nor no man, if her highness would have war, that more would annoy him."—*Letters and Memorials of State.*

(1) The titles of Stukely, as given in his passport, are "Thomas Stewkeley, knight, baron of Resse and Idrone, viscount of Murrowes and Binsheagh."

of Ross, viscount Murrough, earl of Wexford, and marquis of Leinster; and still more effectively to further his object, furnished him with eight hundred men, to be paid by the king of Spain, for his Irish expedition. On his way to Florence he had been admitted to close conference with the duke; and by him, as well as by the other dukes of Italy, was treated as a companion.

Thus furnished for his enterprise, Stukely sailed from Civita-Vecchia with his Italian force, and arrived in the Tagus just as Sebastian, with two Moorish kings, was preparing an expedition into Africa, to dethrone the emperor of Morocco. The young monarch was at first disposed to join in the Irish expedition; and had he fallen in the cause of her sons, upon the shore of the Green Isle, his name might have lived in the national songs of another land besides his own. But, being in amity now with England, he abandoned, on further reflection, this design, and, on the contrary, insisted that Stukely should, with his Italian troops, accompany him into Africa.

Though assenting with much reluctance to the change, this remarkable man distinguished himself in the events that followed, as well by the wisdom of his counsel as by his prompt and generous bravery. Having endeavoured in vain to check the impatient ardour of the young monarch, he stood foremost among his train at the great battle of Alcazar, and, fighting gallantly to the last, closed appropriately his life of adventure by falling on a field which could boast the glory of numbering three kings among the slain.

During these events, James Fitz-Maurice, whose course, as a champion of the Irish cause, (¹) presents throughout, in its steady singleness of purpose, a direct contrast to

earl of Gufort and Cathelonsi, marquis of Leinster, general of our most holy father Gregory XIII."

(¹) See in Ellis, second series, one of the papal indulgences granted by Gregory XIII. for making war "*gerendi bellum*" against Elizabeth. It is granted to James Geraldino Domino de Kericourthi, and dated from Rome, 25th February, 1577.

that of the versatile Stukely, had for more than two years been personally a suitor for his oppressed countrymen at all the Catholic courts of Europe. (1) Having first tried his fortune in France without any success, though offering to Henry the devoted allegiance of all Ireland, he next applied to Spain, and though with but little more real success, was recommended by the Catholic monarch to Pope Gregory XIII. Among the strangers then at Rome were the titular bishop of Killaloe, the Jesuit Allen, and likewise the celebrated Dr. Sanders, in the capacity of papal legate; and through the aid of these zealous divines Fitz-Maurice succeeded at length in procuring three ships, provided with arms and ammunition, a small supply of money, and a force of about one hundred men, consisting of Catholics of various nations. With only these means, and a banner consecrated by the Pope for the occasion, did these sanguine adventurers set sail on their mission for the relief and enfranchisement of Ireland.

[A. D. 1579.] Arriving at Smerwick, a small bay in the county of Kerry, they raised on their landing a small fort, which they hallowed by religious ceremonies; and shortly after the two brothers of the earl of Desmond came, attended by a crowd of followers, to welcome their arrival. Rumours of ships expected from Spain had lately been rife among the natives; and intelligence to the same effect having reached the government, vice-admiral Winter was sent with a fleet to watch on the southern coast; but, not hearing of any enemy, he had returned to England: As soon as intelligence of the actual landing arrived, sir William Drury, then lord justice, issued forthwith a proclamation against Fitz-Maurice, and all who had abetted his daring attempt.

(1) The intense anxiety with which every movement of Fitz-Maurice was watched, shows, sufficiently, the importance attached to his missions. Sydney prides himself, in one of his letters, on "the special spial he maintains to attend upon James Fitz-Maurice;" and thus reports some of the result of his watchfulness:—"It is said he bringeth with hym 4000 shot

The small band, meanwhile, of adventurers who had entrenched themselves at Smerwick, finding that the natives did not repair to them, as they had been led to expect, began to express, at length, impatience and discontent; and James Fitz-Maurice, after remaining there for a month, set off on a journey to the Holy Cross, in the county of Tipperary, for the purpose of performing a vow which he had made in Spain. The real object, however, of this pilgrimage was to seek aid for the desperate adventure in which he had embarked; and Tipperary being then the region in which, as the chronicler of that time tells us, the fuel of rebellion was always most ready to kindle, the anxious Fitz-Maurice thither directed his course. But he was not fated to extend any further his desperate career. When passing through the country of his near kinsman, sir William de Burgo, he seized, for the purposes of his urgent journey, some horses belonging to that knight; on which there ensued a short but furious skirmish between the two parties, in the course of which Theobald De Burgo and one of his brothers were slain, and a furious encounter also took place between Fitz-Maurice and a son of Theobald, which ended in each falling by the other's hand. ⁽¹⁾ Such, after all, was the miserable fate of this brave man; one of the few of the illustrious race to which he belonged who added talent to their other showy and popular qualities. Of the career of so desperate a rebel it is hardly to be expected that an English historian should speak mercifully; nor can we much wonder that while, in the Stories of the Wars of the Geraldines, he shines forth as patriot and hero, the page of history, as written by the conqueror, should brand him as rebel and traitor. But, even in his own times, a generous tribute was paid to his character by a personal enemy, who, while denouncing his treachery and treason,

and dyvers principall gentlemen of Fraunce. It is certeine he is returned from Rome, where he was prince-lyke enterained." *Sydney Papers.*

(1) According to Smith's account, Fitz-Maurice, being conspicuous from wearing a yellow doublet, was shot in the breast, and died in the arms of Doctor Allen.

admits readily that he was not only "courteous and valiant," but "of good credit and estimation through the whole land."

Such were the terms in which an Englishman did justice to this brave man, whose mangled remains were now borne to Kilmallock, and there, "as a memorial of all his treasons and perjuries," were set on the gates of that town. ⁽¹⁾ The service rendered on this occasion by sir William de Burgo and his family were acknowledged in a gracious letter from the queen; and shortly after she created him baron of Castle-Connel.

While these latter events were in progress a change had taken place in the Irish government, and the sword of state was delivered by sir Henry Sydney into the hands of sir William Drury [A. D. 1578.], late lord president of Munster. The hope which had long been entertained of securing quietly to the English crown those districts of Leinster called, in the old time, Leix and Offaley; which had been wrested in the reign of Mary from the native proprietors, was found to be hitherto delusive; and though but little had yet been done towards effecting this great object, the cost of reducing these two shires to obedience had already amounted to at least two hundred thousand pounds.

The two great septs, the O'Connors and the O'Moores, who had been despoiled thus cruelly of their family lands, though frequently chased to their fastnesses and woods, still re-appeared in alarming force; while their ally, and frequently leader, Rory Oge O'Moore, though no longer so light and active as in those days when it was said of him that his station was like that of "a prince, who occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will," possessed still such powers of almost omnipresent mischief

(1) An interesting account of this ancient town,—the Balbec, as it has been pompously styled, of Ireland,—will be found in Mr. Crofton Croker's *Researches*, one of the many agreeable works connected with Ireland, for which we are indebted to that gentleman.

as rendered him an object of constant terror to the harassed borderers of the Pale. For some time the number of his followers had very much decreased; and, of five hundred whom he could once command, there now remained to him not more than fifty. But the constant rumours, of late, from abroad, of fresh schemes of invasion, kept still alert both Rory's spirit of adventure and the watchful but vain pursuit after him by the government. So preternatural, indeed, seemed his powers of escape, that sir Henry Sydney, in a letter to the lords of the council, giving, an account of a recent attempt to capture him, expresses some doubt whether such feats "were performed by swiftness of footmanship, or rather, if it be lawful so to deem, by sorcery or enchantment." "On some occasions," says Sydney, "so hotly was he pursued and so hardly set, as to leave target, skull, sword, mantle, and all behind."

Among the most active of Rory's pursuers was Barnaby Fitz-Patriek, baron of Upper Ossory, whom, by conveying to him some false information, Rory had endeavoured to entrap into an ambush which he had laid for him. But the scheme entirely failed, or rather was turned, with much adroitness against himself. For, with the help of the clue thus furnished by him, Rory was traced to his own covert in the woods; where, being found with but twenty or thirty followers, he was attacked by the lord of Upper Ossory's kerns and slain on the spot. The only approach made by Rory Oge to the heroic character seems to have been his feat of burning down the town of Naas. But tradition has coupled his name with many a wild and elf-like exploit, which it would disturb much the gravity of the historic muse to recount.

[A. D. 1578,] The final departure of sir Henry Sydney out of Ireland, where, such was the estimate of his services, that he had been four times made lord-justice, and three, by special commission, lord-deputy, though a serious loss to that kingdom, was to himself a welcome

and long-wished relief; and it is said that on entering the ship appointed to bear him from that land, he repeated, in allusion to Moses, when departing from Egypt, the words of the 114th Psalm, "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language."

It was about this time that a most frightful crime was committed, — the murder by sir John of Desmond, and avowedly on factious and bigoted grounds, of an English gentleman, Henry Davels, his own most intimate and favourite friend. The particulars of this fearful act present a combination of some of the most odious feelings of depraved human nature; and the sole reason or pretext assigned for it by the perpetrator was, that, finding himself looked coldly upon by his brother rebels, in consequence, as he thought, of his friendship with Davels, he deemed it right, in order to remove this feeling of jealousy, as well as to prove how devotedly pledged he was to the cause, to sacrifice the life of his dearest friend. "Let this," he exclaimed, as, with hands yet reeking from the deed, he hastened to his confederates, "let this be to you and your cause the pledge of my faith." (1)

On the death of James Fitz-Maurice, John of Desmond had assumed the command of the Spaniards at Smerwick, while sir William Drury, whose whole disposable force amounted but to 400 foot and 200 horse, marched to the south, and arriving at Kilmallock, summoned Desmond and the chief persons of the neighbourhood to come forward and lend him their aid. Additional forces were sent from England; and sir John Perrot, the late president, landed at Cork, bringing with him six ships of war to guard the coast.

While the government were thus actively occupied,

(1) See, for further details of this atrocious act, *Lives of Illustrious Irishmen*, by Wills, part. iii. Of Davels sir Henry Sydney gives the following high character: — "Truly, my lord, he is a rare man for his painfulness, upright friendly dealing, and bountie of mind every waye." — *Letter to the Lords of the Council in England*.

the earl of Desmond, shut up in his castle at Askeaton, continued still in that state of pitiable indecision, too proud to proffer submission, too weak to risk resistance, which marked the whole course of his self-willed and worthless career.

But the work of rebellion had now openly commenced; and sir Nicholas Malbie, who had succeeded Drury in the chief command, learning that the rebels were encamped at Conello, near Limerick, marched, with a part of his force, to attack them. John of Desmond, by whom the insurgents were commanded, showed much unwillingness to risk the chances of an engagement: but the zealous Allen pointed encouragingly to the papal banner, and all such fears at once vanished. In making his arrangements for the battle, sir John was assisted by the veteran experience of those Spanish officers who had landed at Smerwick. Finding their position there untenable, they had abandoned the fort entirely, and were now employed in fortifying Desmond's castle, and disciplining his rude army for the field.

During the battle that followed soon after, the earl himself and the baron of Lixnaw stood to watch the course of the conflict from a wooded hill that commanded the scene of strife. From this position, so characteristic of his own indecisive nature, he saw success for a while attend the national banner. But a bold rally of the queen's troops soon turned the fortune of the day, and a general route of the Irish ensued. John of Desmond owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse; and Dr. Allen was found foremost among the slain.

Still pursuing his double course, the earl wrote to congratulate Malbie on his success. But such attempts to deceive and delay could no longer succeed. Papers had been found on Allen's person which left no doubt of the earl's collusion with these designs, from the time of the landing of the Spaniards at Smerwick. Desmond himself at length threw off his flimsy mask by attacking in person the English camp at Rathkeale. There was now,

therefore, an end to all further parley between the parties; a proclamation was immediately issued by the lord justice, declaring Desmond a traitor, and, on the same day, the earl had set up his standard at Ballyhowra, in the county of Cork. It is worthy of mention, that two members of the council, the lords Gormanstown and Delvin, refused to sign the proclamation.

Desmond's next daring exploit was to attack and plunder Youghal, of which town he held possession for five days. So effectually, too, did he finish his work of havoc, that, on the entrance of the queen's troops into the town, the only living human creature they found within its walls was a poor friar, who, with all the generous courage of charity, had brought the body of the murdered Davels from Tralee, to procure for it the rites of Christian burial. The touching contrast between this friar employed thus lonely in his work of charity, and the scene of confusion, strife, and havoc around him, combines in itself at once a picture and a lesson.

The war against Desmond had now fairly commenced; and with the fixed purpose, on the part of the government, of making in his person so signal an example as should in future deter all proud and aspiring subjects from following in a path so sure to end in utter ruin. So little progress, however, had they yet made in humbling his tone, that we find him, in a letter to sir William Pelham, not only avowing that he and his followers had risen in defence of the catholic faith, and were promised aid from both the Pope and the king of Spain, but even proposing that Pelham himself should join in their enterprise. But this confident tone was sadly at variance with his real condition, which every day became more hopeless and desperate. One after another, his numerous castles, Askeaton, Carrickfoyle, Ballyloghane, and others, were taken and garrisoned by the queen's forces. His principal strength, the castle of Carrickfoyle, which was defended by a force of nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish, under the command of Julio, an Italian engineer, was,

after a brave resistance, taken, and the whole garrison put to the sword or hanged.

With such rapidity was the work of destruction accomplished, that already this proud inheritor of so many estates and castles was become a houseless wanderer; and, with only his countess and the legate Saunders, who never forsook them, made their way from one mountain fastness to another, in momentary fear of being taken.

Through all these trials, it is far less the proud and weak lord himself that appeals to our sympathy, than his noble and womanly wife, who, while innocent of all share in the ambitious views that caused their ruin, bore meekly, and without repining, her part in the misery they had produced; watched tenderly over her wayward lord through every step of his ruin, and endeavoured to soften by sharing cheerfully his fall. She had already, this year, gone through the painful trial of taking her only son to the lord-deputy, and placing the youth in his hands as a hostage for the frail fealty of his ill-fated father. Shame and misery, indeed, seemed now to alight upon all who bore the once towering name of Desmond. The youngest of the earl's sons, whose birth had been so joyously celebrated three-and-twenty years before, when, as we have seen, the earl of Sussex stood as his godfather, and hung round the child's neck a chain of gold, was now apprehended in the act of taking a prey of cattle, and, though already mortally wounded in the fray, was executed with every aggravation of cruelty and insult.

[A. D. 1580.] Such was the posture of public affairs when Lord Grey de Wilton was sent to assume the government of Ireland, with orders, according to the usual form, to take the best means of reducing that restless realm to peace. So eager was this new pacificator to commence his mission, that, without even waiting to receive the sword from his predecessor, he made preparations for an expedition into the county of Wicklow, in order to

dislodge from their mountain-holds a body of insurgents who had collected under the command of the viscount Baltinglass. The two great public questions upon which this lord had appealed to the sword against the government were (as the chronicler uncereemoniously couples them) "Religion and the Cess;"⁽¹⁾ and his chief allies in the cause were Pheon Mac-Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes, and captain Fitz-Gerald, a kinsman of the earl of Kildare. This officer, having been entrusted with a corps of infantry for the defence of the county of Kildare, had joined with this force the rebel warriors of the glens, and was now encamped with them in the valley of Glenmalur.

Such was the position, and guarded on all sides with every natural defence that steep hills, impervious thickets, and yawning ravines could supply, that the new lord-deputy, impatient to distinguish himself, now proceeded to attack, — going himself with a party of horse to scour the plains, while the infantry were to enter the deep glens. The result of this foolhardy enterprise was, in every respect, such as might have been expected. The doomed troops had to make their way through a dark marshy valley, where at every step the soil sunk beneath the foot, while large rocks and other obstructions beset their way, which, even without the encumbrance of arms, it would have been most difficult to surmount.

The English officers, who saw from the first the certain ruin to which their commander was leading them, submitted in silence to his orders; while Fitz-Gerald, no less aware of the infatuation of his assailants, was fully prepared to turn it to deadly account. Concealing himself and his soldiers among the trees, on each side of the valley, no sooner had the English, proceeding warily in their march, reached the place of his ambush, than a heavy fire was suddenly opened upon them, volley

(1) Of this very unpopular impost, the Cess, a detailed account and defence may be found in a letter from sir Henry Sydney to the queen, 1517. — *Sydney Papers*.

after volley, and with the most murderous effect. The party in advance, both officers and soldiers, were almost all slain; and among the distinguished victims of the day are named colonels Audley, Moore, Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew.

[A. D. 1580.] The feeling of hope awakened in the insurgents by this success was further increased by the landing at Smerwick, shortly after, of 700 Spaniards and Italians, who, taking advantage of the temporary absence of Winter's fleet, blown off by the violence of the weather, effected a landing at the same spot which had been made memorable by their former visit. Besides arms for 5000 men, and ammunition, they brought with them money to a large amount, which they had been directed to convey to the hands of the earl of Desmond, his brother sir John, and Dr. Saunders. Having attended to this important trust, they proceeded deliberately to finish the fort which had been begun by James Fitz-Maurice and their countrymen, calling it the Fort del Ore; and, when summoned by the lord-deputy to surrender, declared that they held that post for the Pope and the king of Spain. An attack was accordingly commenced, on the land side by lord Grey, and by admiral Winter from the sea; and after a protracted, though not very vigorous defence, the fort was at length taken. Thus far all had proceeded in the ordinary course of civilised warfare; but the outrage that immediately followed produced everywhere, abroad as well as at home, a strong feeling of horror. The garrison had sought to obtain terms; but Grey, insisting that they had no commission, either from the Pope or the king of Spain, and were only private adventurers, refused to grant their entreaty. The wretched garrison then hung out the white flag, and exclaiming with one voice, "*Misericordia, misericordia,*" surrendered at discretion. But they were all inhumanly put to the sword; and the renowned Raleigh, then an officer in the English service, was the chief actor in this horrible scene. The queen, while professing to lament

the slaughter of the garrison, still pronounced it to have been a "useful act of severity;" while, on the continent the horrid details of this transaction drew down everywhere fresh odium on the English name and cause. (1)

We have now briefly to follow the ill-fated Desmond through the two remaining years of his strange and wretched existence. Born the lord of a vast palatinate, with possessions, as we have seen, extending through nearly four counties, and containing more than 570,000 acres, he was now a fugitive without house or home, seeking a shelter for the passing day in some wretched hovel among the woods, and leaving it stealthily in the dead of night to elude the pursuers who were upon his track. Through all this course of peril and suffering, his wife was ever watchful by his side; except when her presence might risk the discovery of his secret haunts; or when, as sometimes occurred, she ventured fearfully within the precincts of the court to ask for interviews with such persons in power as she thought might help in obtaining terms for her fallen lord. Even the consolation of seeing sometimes their only child was now denied her, the boy having been sent a state prisoner to the Tower of London.

The low and abject condition in which Ormond now saw his once proud rival, instead of awakening in him any of that sympathy which a generous spirit so readily extends to a fallen but gallant foe, appears, on the contrary, to have renewed and quickened in him all the energies of his first hate; and the queen, by appointing him governor of Munster, and specially trusting to him the service against Desmond, lent every encouragement to this rancorous feeling. If on Desmond's part there

(1) Camden.—Of this frightful affair, a very different account is given in a letter written at the time, by sir Richard Bingham, one of the most distinguished soldiers of Elizabeth's reign. By this contemporary authority the statement made by Camden of the foreigners having been massacred in cold blood, by order of the council, seems to be wholly disproved. See, for the letter of Bingham, Wright, v. 2. The poet Spencer endeavours to vindicate Lord Grey; and Baker, in order to soften the act of the lord-deputy, tells us that he wept when he gave orders for the executions.

existed a similar hatred towards his rival, we may fully believe the traditional story told of these earl, that, on some occasion when, under the decision of a special commission, they had agreed to a public reconciliation, an aperture was cut in the door for them to shake hands through, lest one should poniard the other.

Being fearful of trusting himself within any house or castle, Desmond continued to wander about in the woods, from one hiding-place to another, attended at first, wherever he went, by a band of faithful gallo-glasses, about sixty in number, who more than once engaged in skirmishes with his pursuers, and saved him from being taken. For some time the place of his concealment was within the fastnesses of Aherlow Wood; and Ormond, impatient to hunt the victim out of his lurking-place, sent more than once a force in quest of him through the defiles of that wooded region.

But, although he still contrived to evade his pursuers, the small band of his attached followers was now almost totally destroyed. They had been surprised, in the dead of night, by a detachment from the garrison at Kilmallock, and, while some were asleep, and some feeding, it is said, upon a horse which they had just stolen, they were almost all slain. The next intelligence heard of Desmond was, that he had been met upon the mountains by lord Roche's servants, with no other attendants than two or three horsemen and a priest. Small in number as had been, from the first, the earl's body-guard, such were the hopes with which it was looked to by the people, as a rallying-point of the national cause, that with its destruction all hopes of success vanished; and the Munster rebels were so much disheartened that all disturbances in that province ceased.

Among the numerous stories of his narrow escapes at this time, we are told that, on one occasion, while "keeping his Christmas" in Kilquane Wood, near Kilmallock, an attempt was made to surprise his countess and himself in a miserable cabin on the banks of a river,

where, for a time, they had taken up their abode. Hearing a noise, in the middle of the night, as if of some persons entering, the earl and his lady, full of alarm, got out of their cabin into the river, and there, screened by the thick bushes upon the bank, remained immersed in the river, until their pursuers, despairing of finding them, abandoned all further search.

During the whole of this time large rewards were publicly offered for Desmond's head; and at length accident led to the result which no proffer of gold, or even pressure of famine, could hitherto effect. During the course of his dreary sojourn in the woods, Desmond's sole means of daily subsistence arose from those preys or seizures of cattle to which his followers were but too well accustomed, and which alone preserved them all from utter starvation. In a late expedition of this nature they had taken the cattle of a poor woman named Moriarty, her only property; and she and her brother had followed the course of the plunderers. Being joined on the way by others, and having appointed a man named Kelly to be their captain, they came at length to a winding pathway, which led them down into the deep and wooded valley of Glanakilty. The glimmering light of a fire at a little distance attracted their notice, and, approaching it cautiously, they perceived through the windows of an old half-ruined house five or six persons sitting by a wood fire. Suspecting strongly that these were the party who had committed the plunder, they retired for a moment to consult as to the manner in which they should proceed. On their return, however, they found that all had departed excepting one man, of venerable appearance, who lay stretched before the fire. Kelly then struck at this old man with his sword, and almost cut off one of his arms; on which he cried out, "Spare me—I am the earl of Desmond." But the appeal came too late, and Kelly, fearing lest the earl's followers should haste to rescue him, bade him prepare himself for death, and immediately smote off his head. [A. D. 1583.] The body

was kept for some weeks concealed, and then interred in the small chapel of Killanamanagh, not far from Castle Island. ⁽¹⁾

Among those champions of the cause of Ireland whom the long struggle of her people for freedom has raised into eminence, the earl of Desmond, although in many respects the most showy and popular, must, in all that lends dignity or moral strength to so high a vocation, take rank on the very lowest level. It was, however, far more in weakness of understanding and violence of temper than in any natural depravity, that the reckless excesses and headlong arrogance of this lordly demagogue had their source; and a great statesman of that period,—one whose opportunities of studying the character of this lord were many and searching,—has left on record his opinion that Desmond's "light and loose dealings proceeded rather from imperfection of judgment than from malicious intent." To the same cause—a helpless want of common sense—may fairly be attributed most of the anomalies and inconsistencies of his strange career. Hence was it that, though born to a rank almost princely, he herded chiefly with his lowest dependents; inheriting estates that spread through nearly four counties, he was yet distressed for the means of daily subsistence; and, though circled wherever he went by crowds of followers, could not boast one single friend.

The termination, by Desmond's death, of this long rebellion, came at a juncture peculiarly timely and fortunate; for, not many weeks after, two Spanish ships arrived off the coast, with the titular bishop of Killaloe and another agent of the earl of Desmond. They were bringing to the aid of the rebels supplies of men, arms, and money; but, on learning the unfortunate issue of the struggle, these visitors hastily departed.

(1) Relat. Girald. "C'est ainsi," says the abbé Geoghegan, "que finit cette illustre maison des Fitz-Geralds de Desmond, ces Maccabées de nos jours, après avoir soutenu si glorieusement la cause catholique jusqu'à l'effusion de leur sang et la perte de leurs biens."

CHAPTER LI.

ELIZABETH — *continued.*

Sir John Perrot appointed lord-deputy. — Tranquillity of the country. — Hugh O'Neill. — He is created earl of Tyrone. — Suspected of disaffection. — Recall of sir John Perrot. — His death in the tower of London. — Treacherous capture of young Hugh O'Donell. — His restoration to his "country." — He is raised to the chieftainship of Tyrconnel. — Hostile appearances. — Military reinforcements. — Assumption by Tyrone of the title of "the O'Neill." — Active hostilities. — Tyrone, O'Donell, and their associates proclaimed traitors. — Tyrone secretly treats with Spain. — Native Irish in the English ranks. — Policy of coming to terms with the Irish chiefs. — Commission appointed for this purpose. — Earl of Tyrone's submission. — Connexion of religion with the disturbances in Ireland. — Recall of sir William Russell. — Appointment of lord Brough as lord-deputy. — Death of sir John Norris. — Free pardon granted by the queen to Tyrone. — Renewed hostilities. — Defeat and rout of the English forces. — Effects of this signal victory. — Alarming condition of the English interest. — The earl of Essex assumes the government in Ireland. — Increased strength of the English forces. — Miserable policy of the new lord-deputy. — He marches into Ulster. — Conference with Tyrone. — Truce concluded. — Angry letter of the queen to Essex. — His rash projects. — Appointment of lord Mountjoy as lord-deputy. — His military reforms. — Means for preventing Tyrone's retreat into Ulster. — He accomplishes his object. — Treachery of the Irish chief, O'More. — Pacificatory policy of lord Mountjoy. — Cruelties exercised upon the people of Leix. — Sir George Carew's vigorous measures. — Proposed plan of setting the native chiefs at variance among themselves. — "The Sagan Earl." — He is attacked by the English cavalry and obliged to fly. — James Fitz-Gerald sent to Ireland. — His welcome. — His return to England and death. — Declining power of the Irish chiefs. — Success of Mountjoy's operations. — Expensiveness of the Irish wars. — Failure of a scheme for debasing the coin of Ireland. — The lord-president authorised to grant an amnesty to the rebels. — The White Knight. — Capture of the Sagan Earl. — The lord-deputy's march into the North. — Conflict with the natives. — Fate of the Sagan Earl. — Florence M'Carthy. — Rumours of a Spanish invasion. — Arrival of the invaders. — Reinforcements from England. — Siege of Kinsale. — Rebellion in Munster. — Movements in Tyrone. — Difficulties of the English. — General action. — Defeat of the rebels. — Parley with the Spanish commander. — Escape of O'Donell to Spain. — Remarks on the policy of don Juan. — His opinion of the Irish. — Honour paid to O'Donell in Spain. — The lord-deputy's march into the North. — Conflagration of Tyrone's mansion. — The war in Munster. — Taking of Dunboy castle. — Irish enthusiasm. — Desperate encounter. — Death of O'Donell in Spain. — General desire of peace. — Submission of Tyrone. — Death of the queen.

[A. D. 1584.] Among the instructions to sir John Perrot, now appointed lord-deputy, he was required, as the in-

strument expresses it, to consider "how Munster may be repeopled, and how the forfeited lands in Ireland may be disposed of to the advantage of queen and subject." To record the successes of daring injustice, forms, in general, a large portion of the historian's task. But, in the instances of the two great forfeitures to which Ireland, in this reign, was subjected, their utter failure in accomplishing their object was almost as remarkable as the principle on which they were founded was demoralising and cruel.

Such was the tranquillity into which the whole kingdom now subsided, that the queen, counting on a long continuance of this quiet, had recalled numbers of her officers and soldiers from Ireland, and sent them to serve in the Low Countries. To sir John Perrot, whose strict but equitable conduct as governor had won for him the confidence of all classes, the office of lord-deputy was again entrusted; and, with the exception of a family outbreak among the ever-restless clan of the Burkes, the calm that prevailed continued for some time unbroken. But a new claimant of political distinction had now begun to attract attention; one who was destined, not only to rally round him the hearts of his fellow countrymen, but to show for once to the world an instance of Irishmen conquering in their own cause.

This remarkable man, Hugh O'Neill was the son of the late Mathew, baron of Dungannon; and being, by the law of English descent, the immediate successor of his father, was thereby entitled to the earldom of Tyrone. In the late wars against Desmond, he had commanded a troop of horse in the queen's service; and, having distinguished himself highly as a soldier, was, at the time we have reached [A. D. 1587.], petitioning the Irish parliament to be allowed to assume the title and take the possessions of the earldom of Tyrone.

While thus affecting to look to a peerage as the sole object of his ambition, he was already contemplating purposes of a far higher aim, nor yet had made up his

mind as to which of the two paths, now opening before him, he should commit himself;—whether as a peer, he should still court distinction only through English channels; or whether, placing himself at the head of his powerful sept, he should renounce the hollow loyalty he had hitherto professed, and assume openly the national title of The O'Neill. Meanwhile the position he held between the two rival parties was such as to enable him, without much apparent duplicity, to turn to account the credit and influence he had acquired with both. The English authorities were proud to claim, as attached to their service, an officer known to stand so high with his own fellow-countrymen; and the chieftains of Ulster, then the strong-hold of Irish patriotism, forgave willingly his seeming adhesion to the cause of the enemy, as long as they saw reason to believe that his heart was wholly theirs. But, however favourable to his ambitious views was this double aspect of his political character, it naturally fostered in him those habits of evasion and duplicity which, notwithstanding his great public merits, brought much discredit on his after career.

The rank and title of the earldom of Tyrone were, without much difficulty, conceded to him; but the possessions, he was told, must depend on the pleasure of the crown. He therefore resolved to appeal to the queen; and, repairing immediately to the English court, succeeded, by his address, frank manner, and well-disguised subtlety, in obtaining the object of his petition. The princely inheritance of his ancient family was restored to him, without any reservation of rent; and, among the conditions required of him, the only one that savoured at all of distrust was that which stipulated that he should claim no authority over the lords bordering on his country.

The first occasion that seems to have awakened any serious doubts of the earl's loyalty occurred at that memorable crisis when, the Spanish armada having been dispersed by a violent tempest, seventeen of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Ulster. It was then asserted

ed, and generally believed, that the earl of Tyrone, while affording shelter to the shipwrecked strangers, had appealed to their sympathies in favour of his countrymen, and had received from them a promise of Spanish aid.

[A. D. 1588.] In the spring of this year that able and honest statesman, sir John Perrot, was, at his own earnest desire, recalled to England. Disliked and thwarted by the queen, and rendered unpopular among the English by his honest reforms, he found the natives, as he owned, the most manageable of the three parties with whom he had to deal. He had let fall, as it appears, some expressions disrespectful to the queen and her ministers, and though accompanied to the shore, when he embarked, by the tears and plaudits of a grateful people,—grateful for having been treated with common justice,—he went to encounter the frowns of a sovereign who, whatever her general claims to admiration, was assuredly feminine in nought but her vanity and caprices. After the lapse of two or three years, a secret inquiry was made into his conduct while ruler of Ireland, thus enabling all whom he had thwarted in their malpractices to take revenge, by furnishing materials for his ruin. Though obviously innocent of the crime of treason, he was kept for six months with the sentence of death still hanging over him, and then died of a broken heart in the Tower.

Not long before Perrot's departure from Dublin, he lent his sanction, unluckily, to a stratagem no less impolitic than it was mean and treacherous, for the purpose of seizing young Hugh O'Donell, the son of the great northern chief, and keeping him as a hostage in the hands of the government for his father's fidelity. To effect this purpose, orders were given that a ship, laden with Spanish wines, should take its course up, by Donegal, to O'Donell's country; and there, anchoring near the chief's castle, should invite young Hugh and some other youths of high rank, who were then his visitors, to come on board. The object of this scheme was to tempt O'Donell to indulge freely in this foreign beve-

rage, so as to render him a helpless victim in their hands; and no sooner was their purpose effected, than the hatches were shut down, the sails spread to the breeze, and the youth and his two companions, the sons of Shane O'Neill, were conveyed prisoners to Dublin. For more than three years the young O'Donell was kept cruelly in this state of bondage, during which the hatred he had been early taught to feel towards England took deeper root in his young heart and memory; nor was it long before Red Hugh—for so he was called, from a natural mark he bore from his youth—succeeded in earning for himself a name which not only graces his country's history, but still lives freshly in the popular tales of her romance.

The feeling of gratitude the queen had inspired in Tyrone by her late gracious act in restoring to him his "country,"—for so the vast estates of the great Irish lords had hitherto been styled,—was much disturbed on finding that the innovation, adopted from England, of forming the countries into shires, and then subdividing them into baronies, was about to be imposed upon Tyrone. So much loathed, indeed, by the natives was the office of sheriff, that at the Treaty, near Dundalk, a few years after, exemption from sheriffs was the general wish and prayer.

But a source of disturbance far more serious to him, as extending its influence over his future fate, was a marriage which he now formed with a sister of sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of Ireland. The charge made against him by Bagnal was, that he had carried away his sister, and forced her to marry him while his rightful wife was still living. But Tyrone, repelling this charge, declared that he had been legally divorced from the first wife, and then married, with her own free consent, the other. The rankling effects of this family feud, between the two rival leaders, continued to mark every stage of their clashing careers.

Thus far Tyrone had continued to profess loyalty to

the queen; and it is not improbable that, down to this period, his professions may have been sincere. But the onward impulse his ambition had received could not easily now be checked; and his cause had lately received an important accession in one who brought to it all that sincerity and singleness of purpose in which he himself was so strangely deficient. This new ally was young O'Donell, or Red Hugh, who, having escaped from his long confinement in Dublin Castle, by letting himself down, on a dark night, from the battlements, had, after a variety of romantic adventures, reached safely his own home on the hills of the north, where a welcome from parents and friends, to whom he had long been as one lost, fondly awaited him. With his father's full consent, and amidst the acclamations of all his tribe, he was raised to the chieftainship of Tyrconnel, and solemnly invested with that high rank, according to the old traditional ceremonies⁽¹⁾.

The coalition now formed by Tyrone with this young chief appeared to promise a more trustworthy spirit in his own dealings. But the petty ambition of making both parties his dupes still possessed him; and he wrote a letter, not long after, to the English council, saying that he had "brought over O'Donell to the queen's allegiance, and would persuade him to loyalty;" but, "in case he should prove obstinate, would serve against him as an enemy." The natural consequences of such double-dealing soon showed themselves. O'Donell, informed of this new artifice, launched a menace at the unscrupulous earl, that "if he did not declare himself openly, he would treat *him* at once as an enemy."

At length, from motives not very elevated—however important and popular were the results—Tyrone assumed a tone and attitude somewhat more worthy of his great cause and himself. It appeared that the lord-deputy, sir

(1) Relat. Giraldin.

William Russell, had let fall, in public, some threatening language against the earl, which, whatever may have been its import, awakened in him serious alarms for his own safety, and led him, for the first time as he afterwards owned, to adopt the decisive policy of taking his stand, along with O'Donell and the other lords of the north, in joint defence of their honours, liberties, and estates.

Of his sincerity in this resolution there seemed to be no grounds for harbouring a doubt. But as any effort of the Irish themselves, unbacked by foreign aid, would but bring upon them further oppression and suffering, it was deemed necessary to wait the supplies, both of men and money, which had been promised to them as well from Italy as from Spain. Fixing his residence now at Dungannon, the earl affected to turn his attention from public affairs, and to employ himself solely with his own territory. But although deferred, his main purpose was not forgotten, nor his subtle schemes permitted to slumber. Either at this time; or somewhat earlier, he had been allowed, for the purpose of preserving the peace of his county, a guard of six hundred foot-soldiers; and according as these became trained in military exercises, he dismissed them and levied others in their place. He was thus enabled, without exciting much suspicion, to spread a knowledge of the use of arms among the most trusty of his vassals and followers. It was also his habit to import occasionally large quantities of lead, wherewith to cover, as he pretended, the battlements of his new castle at Dungannon, but, in reality, to furnish materials for bullets.

Notwithstanding the insidious calm that now ensued, it was manifest to all parties that a trying crisis was near at hand. So alarming to the queen's ministers appeared the aspect of public affairs, that the state of Ireland was one of the reasons most strongly urged by them in recommending the speedy recall of all the troops then serving abroad; and sir John Norris, who had much distinguished

himself in Brittany, was sent, with the novel title of Lord General (A. D. 1597.), to take the command of all the forces in Ireland.

Little daunted by these preparations, Tyrone again put forth his strength with renewed spirit; and, knowing how potent in such a cause are old national recollections, began at once by the bold and defying step of proclaiming himself The O'Neill. ⁽¹⁾

On the death, as we have seen, of his kinsman, the formidable Shane, this national title, which, as borne by him, had long been regarded as the badge and rallying point of rebellion, was by the law pronounced to be treasonable; and so much did the public, at least of the Pale, concur with this act of the law, that Tyrone himself, when suing to the queen for his peerage, affected to adopt the same views, and gravely assured her that "nothing could proceed rightly or peaceably until she had put down the barbarous title of the O'Neill." Notwithstanding this strong declaration, he now not only assumed this forbidden distinction, but declared with national pride, that he would "rather be O'Neill of Ulster than king of Spain."

Learning that fresh supplies of troops were daily expected, more especially 2000 old soldiers who had served under sir John Norris, in Brittany, and finding likewise that English garrisons were about to be placed in some of the castles commanding his territory, he saw that his moment for taking the field had now arrived; and having entered into alliance with various branches of the O'Neills, Magennises, Mac Mahons, and Mac Donells, was appointed by them commander-in-chief of their joint forces. Being thus supported, he felt himself emboldened to strike the first blow, and suddenly assailed the fort of Portmor, which stood upon the verge of the river Blackwater, on the side leading to the county of Tyrone. Having rased this fort and burnt down the bridge, he marched his

(1) *Generalem fœderis sui et belli ducem agnoscunt eum et honorant.* — *Pet. Lombard.*

force with banners displayed into the Brenny, and commenced the siege of Monaghan, the castle of which was garrisoned by the English. On learning these rapid events, marshal Bagnall, at the head of 1500 foot and 250 horse, marched from Newry and encamped at Eight-mile church; from whence, on the following day, he forced his way, after a conflict that lasted three hours, through a narrow pass which Tyrone had fortified, and defended it in person. Proceeding from thence to Monaghan, the English army compelled the insurgents, after some resistance, to raise the siege of that town. Having effected this object, and reinforced the garrison in the castle of Monaghan, they commenced their march homewards. But in the meanwhile Mac Guire and Mac Mahon had joined their forces with the corps of Tyrone, forming altogether a body of 8000 foot and 1000 horse, and posted on each side of a valley or hollow through which the English had to pass. Here a conflict ensued in which ninety of the English were wounded and twenty slain; while of the insurgents about 300 fell in the battle.

Though thus engaged in actual hostilities, the earl, trusting in the forbearance and favour so often extended to him, wrote letters to the earl of Ormoud and sir John Norris, requesting them to plead with the queen for his pardon. This art of evading by prompt submission the punishment due to his successive outbreaks, was one in which he afterwards became an adept. But the audacity he had now exhibited was thought to call for severe measures; and a proclamation was accordingly issued, denouncing Tyrone, O'Donell, Mac Guire and others, as traitors. At the same time the English troops advanced threateningly to Armagh; on which the earl withdrew the forces he had stationed near Portmor, burnt the town of Dungannon, set fire to the surrounding villages, and then retired into the recesses of his deep woods.

In addition to these open and notorious offences, it was now discovered that he had lately written to the king of Spain making him an offer of the kingdom of Ireland

for a supply of 3000 men and a certain sum of money. Such was the queen's indignation on learning this intelligence, that she declared "she would never again pardon the earl;" and this resolution, says a learned chronieler of her reign, she kept to her dying day. But such was by no means the fact. Although his repeated breaches of faith had rendered hopeless all reliance on his pledges and promises, he was far too strong to be treated with rigour; and there concurred at this juncture, as well abroad as at home, a number of circumstances and influences which favoured peculiarly the views and objects of a popular champion of Ireland.

The same sanguine and onward feeling had spread itself among the natives in general, and was much increased by the skill and confidence in the use of arms which they had been gradually for some years acquiring. The rash mistake of putting into the hands of such a people so sure a means of yet redeeming themselves from bondage, is by our historians imputed chiefly to sir John Perrot, who, always anxious to lighten the public expenditure,—a main object with his royal mistress,—armed the Irish of Ulster against the Island-Seots, and thus familiarised them with military service. In the same manner the present lord-deputy, sir William Fitz-William, had lately taken a great number of natives into the army, and sent others into the Low Countries; where, says the chronieler, "they became excellent soldiers, and returned to be stout rebels." The instances, of Irishmen serving in the English ranks, had, at this time, become very common; and on a late occasion, when the lord-deputy marched against the Ulster insurgents, two Irish chieftains bore alternately his military ensign, O'Molloy on the first day, and O'Hanlon, the hereditary standard-bearer of Ulster, on the second.

Unwilling as the queen naturally felt to stoop again to the humiliation of making terms with the rebel earl, the serious danger with which Ireland was threatened by the continuance of the strife in Ulster, left her no

other alternative, and she was again compelled to enter into conditions with the insurgent chiefs. The danger that at this moment most alarmed her was the reduced state of the English force; more especially as that of the insurgents was fast increasing, and now amounted, in Ulster alone, to 7250 men.

After a truce of about two months, employed in hearing the complaints of the chiefs and receiving their submissions, a conference was held to settle all contested points, and finally a commission was entrusted to sir Henry Wallop, "treasurer at wars," and sir Robert Gardener, chief justice of Ireland, to collect the general results of the whole inquiry, and submit them to the consideration of the queen.

[A. D. 1596.] Tyrone now signed a most humble submission, and, to use his own strong language, "craved her majesty's mercy and pardon on the knees of his heart." Among the conditions demanded of him the following were the most important;—that he should make his country a shire and admit a sheriff; that he should rebuild Blackwater fort, dismiss all his forces, give in sufficient pledges, and pay whatever fine the queen should think fit to impose. On the part of the chiefs, several demands, or rather stipulations, were likewise made, and among them was an important proviso for "the free exercise of religion."

In reference to this latter point, a writer of that period remarks, that "never before had this free exercise of religion been either punished or inquired after." ⁽¹⁾ That such was the case with regard to Ireland, there can be no doubt; although, by most Catholic historians, the

⁽¹⁾ Moryson.—We find in the fiercely catholic O'Sullivan "a deplorable catalogue," as he styles it, of Irish lords and chieftains professing the Catholic religion, who, having compounded for their several established principalities, during the administration of sir John Perrot, adhered faithfully to the royal interest, and fought against the pope, the king of Spain, and O'Sullivan himself, in favour of a heretical queen. See, for some sensible remarks on this subject, the writings of Dr. O'Connor, under the name of Columbanus.

wars of Ireland, during this reign, have been represented as having originated almost solely in religious differences. But so far was religion from holding as yet this ascendant place, in their views, that at the time when Tyrone commenced his public career, some of the most powerful of the old Catholic nobility (without taking into account the declared apostates from the faith) were found arrayed on the side of loyalty and the queen. The facility, indeed, with which some of the great Irish lords, O'Neill, O'Brien, and others, acquiesced in the first steps of the Reformation, had set an example, which, though not very orthodox or dignified, continued for a long time its calming influence; nor was it till the period we have now reached, that religious strife began to extend its rage to Ireland, or first kindled up that war of creeds between the two races, by which both have been, almost equally, disgraced and demoralized.

[A. D. 1597.] In the spring of this year, sir William Russel was recalled to England, and Thomas lord Borough⁽¹⁾ sent as lord-deputy, with additional powers, in his place. The fate of the gallant sir John Norris, whose death occurred about this time, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. Removed to Ireland from a sphere of action in which his services had been so distinguished as to rank him among the first captains of the time, he now found himself subjected to the will of a lord-deputy, who, being invested with supreme authority, as well military as civil, not only treated his views and counsels with slight, but even ordered him away to Munster to "look after his presidency, and not to stir from thence without leave." Disgusted and mortified by such treatment, this brave man pined away without any apparent disease or public mark of grief, and expired quietly⁽²⁾ in the arms of his brother, sir Tho-

(1) The only circumstance at all memorable that connects itself with this lord's name is the doubt that exists as to the manner of spelling it;—some writing it Burke, while Camden makes it Borough, and the owner of the name himself wrote Bourgh.

(2) The following is the high character which Camden gives of this able

mas, by whom he was succeeded in the government of Munster. One of the causes, it seems, of the disfavour into which he fell, was the friendly intercourse known to subsist between him and the earl of Tyrone,—a friendship the more generous on the part of Norris, as the rebel leader had mainly contributed to throw those obstacles in his path by which his views were all crossed, and his proud spirit broken.

The fort of Blackwater, commanding the passage into Tyrone's territory, and therefore an object of constant contention between the two parties, was at this time besieged by the insurgents; on hearing which the lord-deputy marched to the relief of the fort, and by his mere appearance dispersed the rebels to their woods and fastnesses. But being ambitious of performing a feat which no lord-deputy had ever before, it seems, attempted, that of reaching the chief's principal mansion, he continued his journey onward. Being seized, however, with illness on the way, he was taken back in his horse-litter to Newry, and there breathed his last.

After much deliberation and reluctance, the queen consented to grant to Tyrone a free pardon on his own terms. But the hopes of aid from Spain, by which he had so frequently been beguiled, having again lately revived, he scorned to avail himself of his pardon; and renewing hostile measures, changed the siege of Blackwater fort into a blockade, and resolved to reduce it by famine. For two or three weeks the flesh of some horses they had in the fort, and the wild weeds they found in the ditch, formed their only means of subsistence; and they were driven almost to the last extremity, when marshal sir Henry Bagnall, seeing the exigency to be most pressing, marched with the flower of the English army to their relief. On the part of Tyrone no less strenuous exertions were rapidly made, and the forces of horse and infantry amounted on each side to more than

general:—"Vir sane magnus, et inter maximos nostræ gentis hoc ævo duces celebrandus."

5000 men; the army of Bagnall being composed of veterans who had fought under Norris, in Brittany, together with the forces of the Pale, and some native septs allied with the English. To oppose this formidable force, the Irish leader had formed a junction with O'Donell, M'Guire, and M'William, this latter chief commanding a body of the troops of Connaught.

The deadly hatred which their family feud had engendered between the two leaders, lent additional impulse to their mutual onset in the field; and Tyrone, singling out his detested brother-in-law in the thick of the fight, directed against him the whole bent of his fury. The fate of the field hung suspended on the turn of their conflict. But the first charge decided all: for Bagnall fell by the hand of his antagonist [A. D. 1598.]; and the English troops, struck with panic by the loss of their leader, fled in confusion before the triumphant Tyrone. Maelmorra O'Reilly, an active auxiliary of the English, endeavoured repeatedly to rally the flying troops; and was, at last, slain in endeavouring to cover their retreat. Thirteen valiant captains and fifteen hundred soldiers fell in that short but destructive fight,—the most memorable for the numbers slain, on the part of the English, of any fought by them since their first landing in this realm.

Under any circumstances, a victory so brilliant and well-timed must have been hailed with exultation. But to the Irish banner success had long been a stranger, and its visit was therefore as welcome, as for ages it had been rare. Nor was it at home alone that the effect of this great victory was felt. By foreign nations Tyrone was hailed as the deliverer of Ireland; from the pope, through the hands of the Spanish envoys (¹), he received a number of indulgences, and, still more precious, a hallowed plume, said to have been “formed from the feathers of a phoenix.”

(1) Martin de la Cerva, and Matthæo Oviedo, titular archbishop of Dublin.

While abroad so strong an impression was produced by this great victory, the feeling aroused by it among the Irish themselves was such as to fill with serious alarm their English masters. All Ulster, says a contemporary witness, rose in arms; revolt spread throughout Connaught, and the rebels of Leinster swarmed into the Pale; while the English, shut up in their garrisons, so far from assailing the insurgents, lived in constant apprehension of being assailed themselves.

In this alarming state of affairs, the choice of a statesman to whom might be entrusted the rule of that realm at such a crisis, became a matter of serious and pressing consideration; and the person first thought of by the queen for this high trust, was Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who, although hitherto more ambitious of shining in literature than in arms, was, with a prescience fully confirmed by after events, selected by her majesty as, of all her court, the most fitly qualified for such a station. But the earl of Essex, the reigning favourite of the day, had set his heart on obtaining this office for himself; and at length succeeded not only in this object, but was invested with larger powers [A. D. 1599.], and likewise furnished with more splendid allowances, than had ever before been conferred on any lord-lieutenant. ⁽¹⁾

But to these pompous preparations, the results of his government formed a most lamentable sequel. Rarely, if ever, indeed, had there been witnessed, in any military expedition, a more wretched contrast between the promises and the performances of its leader; or a wider departure in the field from the plans settled in the council. Provided with an army the largest that Ireland had ever witnessed on her shores ⁽²⁾, consisting of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, his obvious policy, and at first his purpose, was to march directly against Tyrone, and grapple at

⁽¹⁾ Moryson.

⁽²⁾ "Thus," says Moryson, in describing the departure of Essex from London, "at the head of so strong an army as did ominate nothing but victory and triumphs, yet with a sunshine thunder happening (as Master Camden notes for an ominous ill token), this lord took his journey."

once with the strength of the rebellion in its great source and centre, the north.

Instead of pursuing this course of policy, at once the boldest and most safe, he squandered both time and reputation on a march of parade into Munster, and the sole result of his mighty enterprise was the reduction of two castles, and the feigned submission of three native chiefs. When passing through Leinster, in his way back to Dublin, he was much harassed by the O'Moores, who made an attack upon his rear-guard, in which many of his men and several of his officers were killed; and, among the few traditional records we have of his visit, it is told that, from the quantity of plumes of feathers of which his soldiers were despoiled, the place of action long continued to be called the Pass of Plumes.

That this lord, though so inefficient as the leader of an army, was not wanting in sense or talent, is shown by some letters he wrote from Ireland at this period, which afford insights somewhat curious into the state of public feeling then in that kingdom. He wrote in a spirit indeed but too prospective, when he announced in one of these letters, to the queen, that, "if her majesty resolved to subdue the rebels by force, they were so many and so framed to be soldiers, that the war of force would be great, costly, and long."

Having wasted in worse than inaction three months of the summer, Essex, at length, compelled by an angry and bitter letter from the queen, commenced his march into Ulster; and, with an army much weakened by disease, and trembling at the very name of Tyrone, arrived on the banks of the Brenny. Here, on the borders of the chief's territory, he took up his position, while the earl and his numerous army were seen ranged on the opposite hills. But, instead of assuming a hostile attitude, the Irish leader, fully aware of the sort of personage he had to deal with, sent a messenger to request an interview with him, and named the Ford of Ballyclinch for the place of their meeting. To this proposal the viceroy

readily assented; and, at the time appointed, both came, without any attendants, to hold their conference across the river. As soon as Essex appeared on the opposite bank, Tyrone, with a frank and soldierly feeling which his chivalrous adversary could well appreciate, spurred his horse into the river, to give him greeting, and so remained immersed in the water up to his knees during their conference.

The following day a truce was concluded between the two leaders, which was to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, but might be broken on a fortnight's notice by either party. It is said, by English historians, that Tyrone at that time made humble submission to the viceroy. But for this statement there exist no grounds. Though well practised in such subterfuges, it was certainly in no submissive tone that he negotiated on this occasion; for, among the demands which he required to be transmitted to the queen were,—that the Catholic worship should be tolerated; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives; that the O'Neill, O'Donnel, Desmond, and their associates, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last 200 years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives.

If such a spoiled child of fortune as the queen's favourite could be reached or touched by mere reproof, the letter launched at him by his angry sovereign at this juncture might well awaken in him bodings of fall and ruin. In noticing the excuses he had made for his proceedings, she says, "If lack of numbers, if sickness of the army, be the causes, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in a better state? If winter approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too severe, and the summer that followed otherwise spent, then must we surely conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you." (1) The earl having laid the

(1) Letter of the Queen to the earl of Essex.—*Journal of Fynes Morison.*

blame of some public act upon his council, she reminds him how utterly powerless they had become in his hands—that “their subscriptions were but his echoes;” and then bitterly summing up the worth of his services as compared with their cost, she adds, “whosoever shall write the story of this year’s action must say that we have been at great charges to put our kingdom to hazard, and you have taken great pains to effect but perishing purposes.”

On reading this letter, the first impulse of the angry viceroy was to embark a body of cavalry, land his force on the coast of Wales, and, hastening to London, drive all his enemies, political and personal, from the court. But, upon calmer consideration, this rash design was relinquished; and calling to mind the example of a former favourite, Leicester, who, when fallen in like manner under the shadow of the royal displeasure, was yet graciously restored to favour, he indulged in more cheering hopes; and, repairing immediately to England, was on his knees at the feet of the queen before any one thought of his intention of coming.

The remainder of this lord’s tragic story belongs solely to English history; but, in Elizabeth’s mind, his name to the last was associated with Ireland; and among the subjects she chiefly talked of in her dying moments were Essex and the Irish wars.

As Mountjoy had now no longer a court favourite to contend with, his merits were left to their own natural influence; and, with the approbation of the whole English community, he was raised to the office of lord-deputy; while sir George Carew, already practised in Irish warfare, was made lord president of Munster. [A. D. 1599.] In order to consult with the southern chiefs on this new state of affairs, Tyrone proceeded to Munster; and, zealously aided by James Fitz-Thomas, the titular earl of Desmond, and Florence Mac Carthy, one of the most active and designing demagogues of the south, he left no scheme or effort untried to rouse and organise

the rebel strength of that province. Nor, while thus wakening up the friends of the national cause, were they less strenuous in branding and shaming its enemies; and the lord Barry, who, although an accomplice in Desmond's rebellion, had now stood forth as a staunch partisan of the queen, was one of the objects of Tyrone's bitterest hate. To this lord's influence he attributed the loyalty by which the higher classes of Munster continued to be distinguished; and in a letter which he now addressed to him, dated from his camp, thus brings this charge:—"You are the cause why all the nobility of the south, with each of whom you are linked either in affinity or consanguinity, have not joined together to shake off the yoke of heresy and tyranny, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed." (1)

While Tyrone was thus occupied in Munster, the new lord-deputy, who saw that his sole hope of success lay in a complete change of the military policy of the government, proceeded at once, with a strength and decision till then little known in Irish affairs, to effect such changes and reforms as he deemed necessary for his general object. One of the causes of the ill success which had generally attended the English arms in Ireland was the scattered and desultory nature of their warfare. This, like many other habits and practices of the Anglo-Irish, had been taught them by the native people; and, in adopting this light and partisan mode of warfare, the English had lost much of the strength and collectedness which their large masses of disciplined troops had before afforded them. To remedy this and other such sources of weakness, Mountjoy adopted now the scheme of planting garrisons throughout the whole country, not only as seats of military strength (2), but as forming

(1) *Pacata Hibernia*.—Lord Barry in answer to this letter, declares that "her highness had never distrained him for matters of religion;" and adds, "though ye, by some overweening imaginations, have declined from your dutiful allegiance unto her Highnesse, yet I have settled my selfe never to forsake her."

(2) "The Irish," says Ware, "were thus attacked by a flying army, and surrounded by garrisons on every side."

links of communication between different parts of the kingdom; and, having garrisoned in this manner Dundalk, Ardee, Wells, and Carlingford, he left in charge with sir Philip Lambert 1000 men to guard the Pale, and hastened himself to seek out and encounter Tyrone.

Extensive and various as were the accomplishments which the new lord-deputy was known to possess, it was still but on trust that his qualifications for the arduous post he was about to assume could be received. But his Irish opponent — himself a brave and accomplished soldier — soon saw how able and formidable was the new viceroy he had to contend with; and to add to his own difficulties, he had not yet, at the time when Mountjoy arrived, succeeded in getting back to his own territory, but was still, with the force he had brought from Ulster, and the aid of the rebels of the south, holding possession of the whole of the western parts of Munster. Perceiving the advantage that might be taken of the chief's position, thus cut off from his own resources, Mountjoy, assisted by the earl of Ormond, who then commanded in Munster, adopted all means of which they were masters to obstruct and render impossible his return. His only way, it was thought, of effecting his retreat, was either across the river Shannon — a passage which the earls of Thomond and Clanricarde might easily prevent, or else by the westward borders of the Pale, where, if Mountjoy occupied with his forces the towns of Athboy, Mullingar, Ballymore, and Athlone, it seemed to be impossible for the chief and his army to escape. Meanwhile, precautions were taken in every direction to intercept the great rebel's march. Orders were sent to the mayor of Limerick to station ships and boats to hinder his passage, and the mayor of Galway received similar instructions.

Such at the time was the general excitement caused by this event. But, notwithstanding all these efforts, the chief, by long and forced marches, with which the army under Ormond endeavoured in vain to keep pace,

succeeded in reaching his own territory; and, so daring and wonderful was this feat considered—the chief having traversed in his march the whole length of the kingdom—that the queen, in a letter to the lord-deputy, declared that “the terror of this proud attempt of Tyrone’s to pass over the whole kingdom had stricken into the hearts of all her subjects.”

It was soon after this event that sir George Carew, when on his way to assume the government of Munster, was invited by the earl of Ormond to attend a conference, about to be held by him near Kilkenny, with the young chief of the still powerful sept of the O’Moore. The troops by which each of the parties came accompanied having been removed to some distance, the conference commenced between the earl and the young chief, and was continued for some time without leading to any result. (1) But among the persons who came with O’Moore was a well-known Jesuit, named Archer, with whom Ormond fell into dispute on matters relating to religion, and getting irritated, went so far as to pronounce the Jesuit a traitor, who, “under the pretext of religion, was drawing her majesty’s subjects into rebellion.” While this angry scene was passing, the troops of O’Moore, which had taken their station in a neighbouring wood, began to emerge out of their covert, and, closing gradually around, mingled with the earl’s company. Taking alarm, at this threatening movement, the lord president called to Ormond to make his escape; but just as the earl was turning his horse for that purpose he was seized by the chief’s men and made prisoner. Almost at the same moment O’Moore had got in his grasp the lord president; but the earl of Thomond, who was well mounted, rushing vigorously upon him, compelled him to loose his hold, and the two lords both escaped with no other hurt than a slight wound from a pike which the earl of Thomond

received in his back. Ormond remained with O'Moore a prisoner until the following June, when he was liberated on delivering hostages for the payment of 3000*l*.

It was remarked, as the reader may remember, by sir John Perrot, that he found the native race of the land far more tractable than either the English or the Anglo-Irish; and Lord Mountjoy, in writing to England, declared, with a similar feeling, that he found it more "difficult to govern the subjects than to suppress the rebels." After dwelling, indeed, on such scenes of strife and bloodshed, as form, in general, the fearful drama of Irish history, it is some relief to light upon any, even the slightest, incident with which better and kindlier feelings are found associated; and such was a banquet given at this time by the lord-deputy in honour of St. George's Feast, ⁽¹⁾ where the guests were all rebel chiefs whom he had lately succeeded in conciliating, and whose vanity he was thus wisely enlisting on the side of order and power. Among these were some names of high renown in the annals of insurrection—Ever Mac-Cooly, chief of the Fearn, O'Hanlon, regal standard-bearer of Ulster, and Donald Spaniagh, of the Kavanaghs.

But to administer laws justly that are themselves wrong and unjust, is of course a hopeless endeavour. Power founded only on force — and such alone did the English exercise in Ireland — could only by force be maintained; and in the hands of a vigorous soldier, such as Mountjoy, this mode of governing was sure to be actively administered. But that mild and thoughtful humanity which should ever temper the soldier's fire was in him lamentably wanting; and the cruelties which he allowed to be perpetrated on the wretched people of Leix have entailed disgrace upon his name.

This numerous sept, which occupied the district called the Queen's County, though inhumanly visited

⁽¹⁾ Ware. "His lordship," says Moryson, "kept St. George's feast, at Dublin, with solemn pomp, the captains bringing up his meat, and some of the colonels attending on his person at table."

in the reign of Mary by those two instruments of English vengeance, confiscation and the sword, had so far retrieved, in the course of time, their ruined condition, as to have become once more tranquil and thriving. The improved state into which their territory had then been brought is thus described by a cotemporary and eye-witness : — “ It seemed incredible that by such inhabitants the grounds should be so matured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so numerously inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten.” The writer accounts for this prosperous change, by adding that years had then elapsed “ since the queen’s troops had been among them.”⁽¹⁾

But, at the time we have now reached, this happy state of affairs had totally changed. The late violent act of the young chieftain O’Moore—encouraged secretly, it was surmised, by Ormond himself—lent a pretext for new inroads on that harassed people; and they were again subjected to one of those visitations of oruelty which left nothing to mark their course but desolation and silence. Among other instances of the wanton havoc thus perpetrated, the following is mentioned by the eye-witness already cited : — “ Our captains, and, by their examples, the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels’ corn, to the value of 10,000*l.* and upward, the only means by which they were to live.”

Although the lord-deputy’s vigorous scheme of planting garrisons throughout the kingdom had already been carried largely into effect, he had not yet succeeded in forcing the Ulster chief to admit a garrison at Lough Foyle. The first step, indeed, of Tyrone, when he found the government bent on carrying this object, was to repair to his own castle at Dungannon, and call a meeting of the lords of the North, in order to consult on the means of resisting this threatened encroachment on their territory. But his effort proved wholly fruitless; a thou-

(1) Moryson.

sand veterans were sent from Dublin to occupy Lough Foyle, taking along with them an additional force, intended to garrison Ballyshannon.

A strong curb on the chief's movements was thus obtained, which lessened considerably his means of defence, as well as of aggression; while, at the same time, the new lord president, sir George Carew, commenced that vigorous course of policy of which his own pen has transmitted to us so ample and interesting a record. (1) We have seen that Tyrone, while engaged in arousing the spirit of Munster, was attended and aided by Florence Mac Carthy, and the titular earl of Desmond, styled most commonly the Sugaun- Earl, or Earl of Straw; and it was to these two adventurers that the rebels of Munster principally looked for the further advancement and ultimate triumph of their cause.

[A. D. 1600.] The state of affairs which arose naturally out of these circumstances cannot be more aptly depicted than in the language of the lord president himself, who described the war then raging around him as "a monster with many heads;" and came to the conclusion (to use his own words) that "if the heads themselves could be set at variance, they would prove the most fit instruments to ruin one another." The avowed policy of thus embroiling the hapless natives among themselves, in order to weaken their means of resistance to the English, was in itself sufficiently unprincipled and selfish. But even still darker avowals have reached us from the same pen; and a scheme which Carew confesses himself to have planned for the assassination both of the Sugaun Earl and his brother John, adds another to the numerous instances given in these pages of the slight account in which human life was held at that time, when standing in the way of any determined scheme of passion or self-will. By the merest chance, the earl and his brother were saved from the fate intended for them; and

(1) In his work entitled *Pacata Hibernia*.

such was the horror with which they were haunted by this design, that they never after ventured to live together in one place, or even to appear at the head of their troops.

Although the time had now gone past when the Sagan Earl was generally regarded as "the most mighty and potent of all the Geraldines," still, from the affection felt by the people for the old title which he bore, and their recollection of his once princely possessions, he was looked up to by most of the natives as their legitimate lord and leader. But in assuming this memorable title, he had also drawn upon himself much of the misery that seemed the fate of his ill-starred house; and the active vigilance of the lord president and his numerous garrisons left to this brave but unlucky man scarcely a moment of safety or rest. Having been forced to fly from Kerry, he was on his way with a force of 600 men hoping to reach in safety the strong fastness of Aherlow, when a small troop of English horse, sallying forth upon him from the garrison of Kilmallock attacked so vigorously his main body, that after a short conflict he was forced to fly in confusion, leaving, says the chronicler, "sixty of his chiefest men and leaders dead on the field."

Notwithstanding this severe reverse, by which he was driven, with the few remains of his scattered force to take refuge in the woods, so strong was the influence which the mere name of Desmond still exercised throughout Munster, that it was thought expedient, as a means of detaching from him his favourers and followers, to send over to Ireland James Fitz-Gerald, the young son of the great rebel earl, who from his infancy had been kept prisoner in the Tower. Carefully educated as a Protestant, and secluded from all political intrigue, this youth was regarded as uniting in his person so many safe claims to popularity as could hardly fail to combine the suffrage of both parties in his favour. Being, therefore, restored—though still but provisionally—to the earldom of Desmond, he was sent over to Ireland, and made his first

public appearance in that ancient seat of his noble forefathers, Kilmallock. Nor did the greeting that hailed his entrance into that venerable town fall short of the most sanguine hopes that had been formed of his welcome. ⁽¹⁾

Preparations having been made for the occasion by sir George Thornton, who then commanded in Kilmallock, the young lord was escorted by a band of soldiers to that officer's house; while, as we are told, a "mighty concourse of people," filling the streets, doors, windows, and even the tops of the house, gave him loud and re-echoed welcomes as he passed along. On the following day, however, which happened to be Sunday, very different was the sort of reception which he had to encounter; when, instead of accompanying the people to mass, as they fully expected, he was seen directing his steps to the Protestant place of worship. Surprised and shocked to behold the son of the great earl of Desmond thus estranged from the faith of his fathers, they crowded around him, and in their own expressive language implored of him not to desert his country's creed. But the young lord, who was as little acquainted with their language as with their religion, proceeded quietly, in the midst of their cries, to the Protestant church; and the lauded idol of the preceding evening sunk suddenly into an object of hatred, or rather contempt,—no further notice being from thenceforth taken of him than if he had been a perfect stranger. The only class who regarded his proceedings with any interest were the undertakers or holders of the forfeited lands, who, in the event of his being restored to his inheritances, would have become his tenants, and paid their rents no longer to the crown but to him. The sole service that, during his short and useless visit, he performed, was the recovery of Castle-main ⁽²⁾ for the crown by his negotiations with Thomas

(1) Cox.

(2) The ancient castle from which this town takes its name is said to have been built at the joint charge of Mac Carthy More and one of the earls of Desmond as a place of defence between their respective frontiers.

Oge, the constable. Having obtained the surrender of this fort, which was strongly opposed by Florence MacCarthy and the Sugan Earl, young Desmond returned to the English court, and there (as was strongly suspected, from poison) very soon after died.

The reign of Elizabeth had now entered the forty-fourth year of its long and memorable course; and so few and brief, during that period, had been the pauses from civil strife among the Irish, that a state of rebellion might almost have been regarded as the habitual and natural condition of that people. Nor, indeed, could better results have been expected from so near a neighbourhood between two nations, whose strange destiny it seems to remain through all ages as wholly alien to each other in character as in language, religion, and race. In foreign aid now lay the sole hope of the Irish people; but the succours long promised from Spain were still delayed: and whatever confidence they had hitherto felt in their own unaided efforts was, by the failure of the late movements in Munster, almost entirely extinguished. As the lord-deputy himself expressed it, the hope of Spanish aid was "the only fuel of this last blaze of rebellion:" and so successful had been the lord-president in putting down all power of resistance, that, as he himself boasts, "not a single castle in Munster held out against the queen," and of all that army of rebels, no less than 7000 strong, which had bid him defiance when he took the field, the sole remains now left unsubdued, the only "relics of rebellion," were those five fugitives, the Sugan Earl and his brother John, the baron of Lixnaw, Pierce Lacy, and the Knight of the Valley.

Among those despotic privileges which the government of the Pale possessed, few were more abused, in their exercise, than that which enabled them wholly to ruin any too popular chief by despoiling him of his ancient title, and even possessions, and bestowing them upon his thanist, or elected heir. In this manner two of the most distinguished of the Irish lords, O'Donell and Maguire

of Fermanagh, were now extruded from their rank and rights; while two pretenders, under the sanction of the English authorities, were allowed to usurp their stations. In these two instances, however, the power of ridicule a good deal repaired the wrong done by injustice; and the ready nicknames of "the Queen's O'Donell" and "the Queen's Maguire," applied to these titular chieftains, soon reduced them to their proper level. Among a people endowed with so lively a sense of ridicule, there is little danger of absurd injustice long maintaining its ground.

During the autumn of the year 1600 the Ulster chief had been nearly reduced to total inaction by the circle of garrisons which watched his movements in the north; and the lord-deputy was thus enabled to apply his attention to the troubles of the Pale. In the districts of Kildare and Carlow he met with considerable resistance, and had a horse shot under him in a skirmish with the rebels. But having succeeded in quieting that quarter, he was enabled to attend to Ulster.

Meanwhile Tyrone was strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Armagh, and, amidst the bogs and fastnesses with which that country abounded, bade defiance to all Mountjoy's efforts to dislodge him from his strongholds. But though thus baffled by the brave patience and perseverance of his adversary, Mountjoy was able to take his revenge on the surrounding country, and at length, by the distribution and rapid movements of his force, succeeded in awing into submission "every corner but Tyrone." There, in his own unvanquished realm, where neither the law nor the lawyers of England had ever yet found their way, the Ulster chief took boldly his stand, resolving to await with patient hope the expected succours from Spain.

The great expense of her Irish warfare was to Elizabeth a constant source of care and annoyance; and the expedient to which she was now driven, of ordering a base coinage to be sent into Ireland, and there accepted as

sterling money, brought disgrace alike on herself and her advisers. This scheme had been first recommended by sir John Perrot, and for a reason which he deemed applicable only to Ireland. "As imbasing of coin," says this statesman, "like other such dangerous innovations; may breed harm in well-governed states, so in Ireland, being all out of order, it can do no harm at all." The two great objects of this bold and dishonest measure were to relieve the queen's treasury, and bring distress and embarrassment upon the rebels; and in both these objects it doubtless succeeded. But it also impoverished and spread discontent through the army; and, as a writer of those times remarks, "none but the treasurers and paymasters had cause to bless the authors of that invention."

[A. D. 1601.] In the spring of the present year the Spanish monarch had raised a force of 5000 men, with the view of employing them, according as circumstances might arise, either in the Low Countries or in Ireland; and such was the importance attached by him to the latter object, that "could he, for the time," as he declared, "work his purpose in Ireland, he would think the 5000 men well bestowed, even though he should lose them all at the year's end." At the time we have reached, however, the utter failure of the late rebellion in Munster had very much lowered, in the eyes of Europe, the value of Irish alliance; and to this feeling it doubtless was owing, that, instead of the adequate aid from Spain which Tyrone had been taught to expect, there had reached him only two small ships, which, casting anchor in the bay of Kilbeg, near Donegal, conveyed to him some arms and ammunition, and likewise a supply of gold coin. This seasonable relief, which, although scanty, was to be followed, it seemed, by more, Tyrone shared with the confederates of Munster; and all being cheered and reanimated by even so trifling a succour, the chief and his followers were again full of spirit and hope.

In order to temper by some conciliatory measure the

rigorous course which had been hitherto pursued, a letter was written by the queen to the lord president, giving him authority to grant an amnesty to all who sought her mercy, with the exception still of the five fugitives already excluded from forgiveness. However frequent among the Irish, in all times, have been acts of bloodshed and violence, deceit or treachery is rarely found among their vices; and even in the most lawless times, so sacred have they held the claims of hospitality, that men for whose heads large rewards had been publicly offered, might sleep safely and trustingly under the poorest peasant's roof. Tyrone himself had been thus twice proclaimed; 2000*l.* having been offered to any man who should bring him in alive, and 1000*l.* to any one who should surrender him dead. Yet, large as was this bribe, "so much revered was he in the north" that, as an enemy of his assures us, "none could be induced to betray him."

Still more cordial, though far less founded on respect or deference, was the feeling entertained through Munster to the Sutan Earl. The recollections, still recent, of those days when his single war-cry called to the field eight thousand warriors, and at the head of his brave Geraldines he bade defiance to the power of England,—these remembrances, while strongly binding to him the hearts of his countrymen, brought also with them saddening contrasts, which but deepened the misery of his present state. After his total defeat and rout at Kilmallock, he contrived for a while to elude his pursuers by taking refuge among the glens and fastnesses of Aberlow, where he could change, as occasion required, from one lurking-place to another; and a poor harper, who had often sat at his feasts in happier days, was now the only one of all his former companions who ventured to afford him shelter. It was under this harper's roof that a party of soldiers, one night, nearly surprised him as he sat at supper with his host and hostess; and his mantle, which he left behind when taking flight, alone discovered to

them that the earl had been of the party. Among those most active in pursuing him was the White Knight, once his intimate friend, and the most zealous adherent to his cause, but now compelled, and at the peril of his own "life and lands," to take part in this cruel pursuit.

Having, at length, received intimation that "the caitiff earl" — as Mountjoy bitterly styled him — had taken shelter in a cave in the mountain of Slewgorr, and was there lurking, with his small party, the White Knight proceeded reluctantly to perform his task. Coming to the mouth of the cavern, he called upon the earl in a loud voice to come forward and surrender himself; and had this lord, reduced and broken as he was, shown any weakness under such circumstances, it would have been but natural and pardonable. But, on the contrary, he showed himself worthy of the gallant race to which he belonged. "Presuming," says the English relater, "on the greatness of his quality," he came forward to the mouth of the cavern, assumed command over the whole party, and boldly ordered that the White Knight should be seized and secured. Instead of attending, however, to his command, they instantly disarmed and secured both himself and his foster-brother, and conducted them away to the castle of the knight, who received for this service 1000*l*.

Notwithstanding the active exertions of Mountjoy in Ulster, the forts of Armagh and Portmor remained still in Tyrone's possession; and, towards the end of the month of May, the lord-deputy departed from Dublin, with the view of recovering those forts, and finally establishing the English power in the north. Among the incidents, rather than exploits, which marked his progress, one or two may be selected as worthy of some notice. While encamped near the Blackwater, Mountjoy examined with much attention the different positions in that neighbourhood, and more especially the memorable field on which the flower of the English forces fell vanquished before Tyrone. Frequently, too, while the

royal army lay here encamped, the rebel earl and his bold followers would show themselves from the opposite woods, and, by sounding trumpets and waving in the air old English banners, which they had kept as trophies of that great encounter, defied and mocked their self-confident foes.

A few days after, Mountjoy drew out a regiment of Irish, commanded by sir Christopher St. Lawrence, and, passing the Blackwater, marched to Benburb, the old mansion of Shame O'Neill, "which," says the writer of the account, "lay on the left hand of our camp, at the entrance of great woods. There our men," he adds, "made a stand in a fair green meadow, having our camp and the plains behind them, and the wood on both sides and in front. The rebels drew in great multitudes to these woods; while we in the camp, being ourselves in safety, had the pleasure to enjoy the full view of a hot and long skirmish, our loose wings sometimes beating the rebels on all sides into the woods, and sometimes driven back by them to our colours in the midst of the meadow; and this skirmish continued, with like variety, for some hours."

A principal object of the lord-deputy in this expedition was to discover a road or pass into Tyrone's territory; no guide having ever been tempted by any reward to betray that secret to the English. By cutting down, however, a broad pass through the depth of the woods, Mountjoy succeeded in reaching the river, where he resolved to build a fort, with a bridge; and from thence to Dungannon, the chieftain's mansion, was less than four miles, all level ground.

The sequel of the painful adventures of the Sagan-Earl remains to be told. It was found that, in addition to his other acts of treason, he had written letters to the Spanish monarch, in the year 1599, assuring him that Nero, in his time, "was far inferior to the queen of England in cruelty;" and imploring aid in "money and munition," to enable the Irish to crush her power.

Being indicted for treason at Cork, he was convicted, and condemned to be executed. But a motive of policy, which he himself suggested to the government, was the means of saving his life. He reminded them that as long as he lived his brother John could not succeed to the title; and, as this appeared of the two the lesser danger, they permitted him to live.

About the same time a fate somewhat similar attended another notorious personage, Florence MacCarthy, who, having been arrested, by the lord-deputy's order, at Cork, was likewise committed to the Tower. Beginning his career more as a speculator than an actor in the general strife, MacCarthy was fitted by this neutral start for the double path that afterwards opened upon him. Following in the wake of either or any party, so long as they served his selfish purposes, he gained for a time acceptance with all; nor was it till the hollowness of his professions became notorious that the delusion was fairly dissipated. About a year before his final fall this chief submitted to the lord-president; and the abject terms of his submission show how low must have been the standard of self-respect among the gentry of those days. After pledging himself to send to the lord-president occasional accounts of his brother rebels, he moreover engages to "do him all the best underhand services he possibly can."

The large reward held out by the queen for Tyrone's head had hitherto failed, in spite of the medley mob of adventurers he had around him, to induce a single desperate arm to aim at that chieftain's life. He was far more in danger, however, from another and more civilized quarter. In the month of August this year an Englishman, whose name is not mentioned, went and offered to sir Charles Davers, the new governor of Armagh, to take the life of Tyrone. He gave this officer no intimation as to the manner in which he intended to effect his purpose, nor required from him any assistance; and the only help he appears to have received was the leave

given him, at his own request, by the governor, to pass by the English sentries when going, at night, into Tyrone's camp. When brought afterwards before the lord-deputy, at Knockfergus, he acknowledged having once drawn his sword to kill the chief, and was pronounced to be of unsound mind, "though," as the lord-deputy gravely added, "not the less fit on that account for such a purpose."

The reports which had long been current of the intention of the Spanish court to make a descent, with a large force, on some part of the Irish coast, had been lately, with much confidence, revived; and so secretly had the preparations for this enterprise been conducted, that down to the moment of the actual landing of the invaders, conjecture was still kept alive as to the place of their destination. ⁽¹⁾ At Cork they would not be likely, it was thought, to land, as that place would not be tenable when they had got it; nor at Limerick, although in some points well fitted, from its being too far into the kingdom. The great facilities afforded by Galway—itsself a focus of rebellion—for acting in concert with the northern insurgents, inclined many to suppose that thither the Spanish invaders would turn their views; while some, much nearer the mark, conjectured that Waterford would be the port chosen, on account of "the goodly river, and the people's affection to Spain." In this state of uncertainty was the public mind when, on the 22d of September [A. D. 1601.], the lord-deputy and the lord-president, then sitting at council with the earl of Ormond, in Kilkenny, received intelligence, by the line of posts then newly established, that a Spanish fleet had made its appearance near the Old Head of Kinsale. Two days after arrived the further information, that the Spanish forces amounted to 5000 men, were under the command of Don Juan D'Aguila, and had taken possession of the town of Kinsale, as well as of the castle of Rinconan,

(1) *Pacata Hibernia.*

seated close upon the harbour. The commander of the invading force had gained much honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and brought with him the reputation of being one of the greatest soldiers of Spain. In the present instance such was his confidence in his own good fortune, that, shortly after his arrival, he sent back to Spain the greater part of his fleet.

The English authorities, though by rumours sufficiently warned of the event, were so ill prepared for its actual occurrence, as to have at the time, by their own confession, "scarce so much powder as would serve for a good day's fight." But, with a commander so prompt and able as Mountjoy, this failure in foresight would not be long unredeemed; and the first object of serious contention between the two parties was the possession of the castle of Rincoran, which Don Juan had seized and garrisoned with upwards of 150 Spaniards and as many Irish. After a defence maintained with desperate perseverance for nearly four days, this important post was at length surrendered; its brave alfiere, or commandant, having required, as an essential condition, that he should be permitted to give up his sword to the lord-deputy himself. It was during these events that a letter was addressed by the queen to Mountjoy, containing the following characteristic passage:—"Tell our army, from us, to make full account that every hundred of them will beat a thousand, and every thousand theirs doubled." Scarcely a fortnight elapsed from the date of this letter when the English army marched towards Kinsale, and encamped within half a mile of the town.

Among the reinforcements now arriving were thirteen ships laden with troops,—supposed, at first, to be Spanish; but, on nearer approach, found to be a force brought from England by that loyal lord the earl of Thomond, consisting of 1000 foot, to be placed at Mountjoy's disposal, and 100 horse, under the command of the earl himself.

But among the leaders to whom, at this juncture, public

attention was anxiously directed, none awakened so eager an interest, either at home or in foreign nations, as the great champion of the Irish people, Tyrone. To this lord, as well as to O'Donell, letters had been sent by the Spanish archbishop of Dublin shortly after the arrival of his countrymen at Kinsale, entreating them earnestly to hasten their coming, and likewise to bring with them a supply of horses, of which the invaders were much in want. Some delay occurred in attending to this request; and the lord-president, in one of his letters, more than insinuates that O'Donell "had no inclination to hazard his troops in fight." But the delay of the chief's march was caused solely, as we learn from the president's own account, by violent floods of rain, which had rendered the passage of the mountain of Slewphelim wholly impracticable either by horse or carriage. In the course of the night, however, there came on a sudden and intense frost, of which O'Donell promptly availed himself for the continuance of his march, and, though pursued with almost equal speed by the lord-president, succeeded in distancing his pursuer; thus performing, without any rest, two-and-thirty Irish miles,—"the greatest march, with the encumbrance of carriage," says the relater, "of which there exists any record."

The arrival in Kinsale harbour of ten ships of war, under the command of admiral sir Richard Levison, brought an accession of spirit and confidence, to the besiegers; and, after a breach made in the town walls, which gave occasion to several brisk encounters, the town was summoned to surrender. But the answer of Don Juan was, that he "held the town, first, for Christ, and next for the king of Spain, and so would defend it *contra tutti inimici*. This encouraging tone on the part of the Spaniards was further emboldened by the arrival, at Castlehaven, of six Spanish ships, bringing with them a large store of ordnance and ammunition, and soon to be followed, as was generally announced, by an equal amount of supplies.

The tranquil state to which Munster had been reduced by the stern and vigilant rule of the lord-president remained for some time undisturbed. But, with all his skill in coercion, the rebel spirit had become too powerful for even his practised hand to curb it; and between their abettors abroad and their ruthless masters at home, the hapless natives were at once lured and goaded into rebellion. Among the chances of speedy deliverance which they now counted upon, the foremost was Tyrone's march into Munster. "We look hourly for Tyrone," says the lord-deputy, in one of his despatches; and the same eager and watchful feeling kept the eyes of all parties directed towards the north. But though in Munster, as we have seen, a great many of the leading provincials had declared for the Spaniards, there were still numbers, even among the Catholics of that province, who rejected all fellowship with Spain, and many more who, awaiting the issue of the pending conflict, continued still neutral.

There was yet another class of persons to whom the excitement caused throughout Munster by the announcement of Tyrone's coming brought, for the time, occupation and livelihood,—men with little or no means, though many of them gentlemen by descent, who, although not soldiers, were professed swordsmen, and hired out their services as military adventurers to any person in any cause for which such aid might be required. That this strange vocation was not discountenanced by the higher powers there exists no doubt, as we find the lord-deputy earnestly advising his royal mistress to take some of these swordsmen into her service against Tyrone; and, to meet satisfactorily her accustomed objection on the score of expense, this knowing statesman suggests, that they "would spend but little of her majesty's victual," and might be paid in her new base coin.

Meanwhile Tyrone continued his march, and having been joined on his way by Tyrrell and other insurgents

of Leinster, arrived at length with his wearied forces in the vicinity of the besieged town. It had been always Mountjoy's opinion, that among the woods and fastnesses of his native north lay the true sphere of Tyrone's military genius, and that in the tactics which suit an open and level country he would be found less successful. That such was the chief's own conviction, appears through the whole of this last stage of his career. To the woods of Armagh, and the wild strengths of Loughlurken, he now looked back, as the true bulwarks of his dominion, and at every step that further removed him from those regions felt a consciousness of diminished spirit and power.

Resolved to pursue, however, as far as circumstances would admit, his own accustomed system, the chief took possession of some bogs and fastnesses which lay in the rear of the English army, about six miles from Kinsale, and there, entrenching himself strongly, meant to await the favourable moment for action. How advantageous for his own purpose was this choice of position, may be judged from the manner in which it is complained of by his adversary, Mountjoy, who says, in describing the relative position of the three armies, "We find Tyrone lodged in woods and inaccessible strengths, very near the English camp; and his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards, in Kinsale, on the other, keep us at bay from proceeding in our approaches and battery."

Had the chief been left unthwarted to persevere in his own course, there appeared every prospect, it was thought, of his gaining another such victory as had been achieved by him, some years before, at the battle of the Blackwater. But the impatience of the Spanish commander, who, eager for immediate aid, however obtained, wrote constantly, urging Tyrone to attack the English camp; the self-sufficiency of the Spaniards, under Tyrrell, and the impetuous ardour of O'Donell, all united to overrule the Fabian counsels of the Ulster chief.

At the very time, too, when he was surrendering to them his own views, so much distressed for want of provisions were Mountjoy's troops—owing to the neighbourhood of Tyrone, who had intercepted all his supplies—that, the very day before the battle, it had been resolved by him in council to send all his horse away from the camp.

On the night of the 23d of December the lord-deputy received the welcome intelligence, that Tyrone had broken up from his strong position, and was then on his march to join with the Spaniards in an attack on the English camp. The night, as described by persons who witnessed the whole scene, was rendered as clear almost as noon-day by constant flashes of lightning; and the English horsemen on their watch could see lights, as it seemed to them, burning at the points of their staves or spears. In the midst of these bewildering flashes, Tyrone's guides missed their way, and instead of arriving, as was expected, about midnight, did not reach the appointed place till break of day.

To describe in detail the confused battle which then ensued were a needless trespass on the reader's patience. On the side of the Irish, Captain Tyrrel led the vanguard, in which were the 2000 Spaniards who had landed at Castlehaven. Tyrone himself commanded the main body, or, as it was then most commonly called, the battle, and O'Donell the rear. In the short but momentous conflict which ensued, the forces of the Irish and their Spanish allies were totally defeated; and the first cause of the general panic which seized the native army was the sudden flight and rout of their horse, which, being composed for the most part of gentry and heads of septs, rendered the contagion of such an example the more catching and fatal. The Irish, says a record of that day, "left dead on the field 1200 bodies, besides those that were killed in two miles' chase."

While such is the report given by the English of the loss of "the enemy," the amount of the injury suffered by

themselves was, they say, only one cornet killed and three or four soldiers wounded; a disparity of loss not easily conceivable, though generally assumed, by English chroniclers, as the due balance of the amount of slaughter between their countrymen and the Irish. The earl of Clanricarde, who had highly distinguished himself in that day's action, having slain, as we are told, hand to hand, twenty kerns, or foot soldiers, was knighted on the field for his deeds of prowess; and received soon after, through the lord-deputy, this gracious message from the queen: "Let Clanricarde know that we do most thankfully accept his endeavours."

Being thus left at Mountjoy's mercy, by the entire and hopeless rout of his Irish allies, the Spanish commander had no other alternative than to propose a parley; and the task of negotiating between the two parties having been entrusted to sir William Godolphin, it was agreed, after several conferences, that the Spaniards then in possession of the towns of Kinsale, Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Beervhaven, should "surrender those places, and depart from the country."

Tyrone, himself severely wounded, and borne in a litter, had, together with the chief MacMahon, who was also wounded and helpless, succeeded in reaching the Blackwater; but, venturing to cross before the waters had fallen, lost not only most of his carriages, but 150 of his soldiers, who were drowned in the hurry of crossing. His ally, O'Donell, whose headlong ardour had done such injury to the late fatal battle, had now no other resource left than to make his escape to Spain; and in a list of the names of the Irish who sailed at this time from Castlehaven we find "O'Donell and his train."

Of the line of conduct pursued by Don Juan while in Ireland, some further account may not be thought superfluous. Having commenced, as we have seen, his operations by the absurd step of landing an army in the south, to assist a rebellion whose principal seat was in the north, he continued to follow up this strange blunder

by a course of proceedings no less misplaced and preposterous. On the first coming of these strangers there was every prospect of friendly relations between them and the natives; "nor was this," says a writer of that day, "at all surprising, considering what power religion and gold hath in the hearts of men,—both which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland."

But this friendly feeling survived not long the short noviciate of first acquaintance; and Don Juan soon transferred to the natives themselves all the hatred with which he had been taught to regard their English rulers. So little, too, did he deem it necessary to conceal this change of opinion, that, in his very first conference with sir William Godolphin, he pronounced the Irish to be "not only weak and barbarous, but, as he feared, perfidious friends;" and the bitter sarcasms which he afterwards gave vent to, in stating his case to the English negotiator, however unjust towards his fallen and fugitive allies, may, for their oddity and humour be thought worth preserving. "Presuming," he said, "on their promise, that, in a few days, they would join, I expected long, in vain sustaining the brunt of the viceroy's arms. I then saw these two Counts take their stand, within two miles of Kinsale, reinforced with some companies of Spaniards, and every hour repeating their promise to join us in forcing your camps. After all this, we saw them at last broken with a handful of men, blown asunder into divers parts of the world—O'Donell into Spain, O'Neill to the furthest part of the north; so that now I find no such Counts in *rerum natura*."

But, while the enemies of the Irish cause were indulging these scoffs at the two fugitive chiefs, there arrived from Spain such glowing accounts of the cordial welcome given to O'Donell in that country, as somewhat sobered the hostile triumph of the scoffers. On his landing in the Asturias, he was nobly received by the Comte Caracena, who "evermore," it was said, "gave him the right hand, which he would not have done to the

greatest duke in Spain. ⁽¹⁾ On the following day he went to the church of St. James of Compostella, where he was received with much magnificence by the prelates, citizens, and religious persons; and, on learning his arrival, the Spanish monarch addressed a letter to the Comte Caracena, giving directions for his guest's reception, and briefly adverted to the affairs of Ireland. "It was," says the relater, "one of the most gracious letters that ever king directed; for by it was plainly shown, that he would endanger his kingdom to succour the Catholics of Ireland." ⁽¹⁾

Being now free to turn his attention to the north, the lord-deputy took the field in full force; and, marching his army through Dundalk and Armagh, to the Blackwater, built a bridge over that river, and likewise a fort close adjoining, which he called Charlemount, after his own Christian name. Here he planted a garrison of 150 men, under sir Toby Caulfeild—an officer who had much distinguished himself in the Low Countries and in Spain, and who, many years after, was created Baron of Charlemount.

The place where they were encamped was about six miles from Dungannon; and, the country that lay between being open and level, they could see from their camp that both the town and Tyrone's mansion were on fire;—a sure, and to them joyful, sign that the chief's reign, in that realm of the O'Neills, was near at hand. The lord-deputy accordingly despatched sir Richard Morryson, with his regiment, to take possession of Dungannon. That the chief had long meditated this conflagration, appears highly probable; for, on the surrender shortly after to the lord-deputy of the strong fort of Enishlanghen, which was seated in a vast bog, and only accessible through pathless woods, an immense store was found of plate and other valuables belonging to Tyrone himself and other lords of the north.

(1) Relat. Giraldin.

Among the many notable incidents that marked the viceroy's progress, was a visit he paid to Tullagh Oge, the chief residence of the ancient clan of O'Hogan, where, after destroying the corn of Tyrone and all the adjoining country, he rendered his visit still more hatefully memorable by breaking in pieces the Stone Chair, in which, from remote times, the successive sovereigns of Ulster had been inaugurated into the title of the O'Neill. ⁽¹⁾

While thus insultingly the queen's representative was making his progress in the north, the war in Munster had lately received a fresh impulse from the efforts made by Daniel O'Sullivan, the lord of Beare and Bantry, to regain possession of the castle of Dunboy, ⁽²⁾ which had belonged from time immemorial to his family. This important post, which, with several others, had fallen into the hands of the Spanish general on his arrival, was afterwards claimed as one of those which he agreed to surrender on his capitulation, and was now on this ground about to be seized upon in the name of the queen. But the lord of Bantry, who acknowledged no right, in either the queen or the Spaniard, thus to wrest from him the "sole key," as he called it, "of his inheritance," resolved to possess himself of the castle before any surrender could be made.

Collecting, therefore, a large party of his followers, and being assisted also by the jesuit Archer, the lord of Lixnaw, Captain Tyrell, and others, he caused a hole to be made in the wall of the castle, through which about eighty of his people succeeded in effecting their entrance. Thus possessed of so strong a post, and receiving constantly assurance of aid from Spain, the small garrison, under the command of Richard Mac Geoghegan, constable of the fort, prepared for a long and obstinate defence.

(1) "Several stones, said to have been fragments of this royal chair, were in the glebe land belonging, to the rev. James Lowry, rector of Desert-Creagh, about the year 1768."—*Stuart's Armagh*.

(2) "This strong castle, upon an excellent haven, O'Sullivan kept for the king of Spain, having sixty warders with him at first, and three pieces of ordnance."

The lord president saw the importance of getting possession without delay of this valuable post, the only strength then left to the Spaniards in Ireland; and although, among others, the earl of Ormond had represented to him the risks of such an enterprise, he still, with that stern self-will which in him was generally justified by success, persisted in his first purpose. Towards the latter end of April he marched his army from Cork, and encamped the same evening at Owneboy, the very place where Tyrone fixed his quarters at the time when he suffered his great overthrow near Kinsale.

While all, on both sides, were preparing anxiously for their approaching struggle, the welcome intelligence reached the Irish that a Spanish ship had just arrived near Ardee, bringing supplies of the kind most wanted by them—arms and money; and having on board Owen McEggen, the titular bishop of Ross, who, besides being the bearer of cheering news, had likewise brought with him, for distribution among the insurgents, the sum of twelve thousand pounds. These timely reinforcements, as well as some recent successes gained by the garrison, had inspired in them fresh confidence; and letters, too, were received by them from anxious friends without the walls, which show to what a pitch Irish enthusiasm could then, as well as in our own days, be elevated. Thus, in a letter from James Archer to his brother jesuit, Dominick Collins, at Dunboy, we find the following passage:—"In the meanwhile, whatever becomes of our delays or insufficiencies, be ye of heroical minds; for of such consequence is the keeping of that castle, that every one there shall surpass in deserts any of us here; and for noble valiant soldiers shall pass immortal throughout all ages to come;—and, for the better encouraging, let these words be read in their hearing." In another letter, addressed to the lord of Lixnaw, by John Anias, "a little before his execution," the writer says,—“My death satisfies former suspicions, and gives occasion hereafter to remember me; and, as I ever aspire

to immortalise my name upon the earth, so I would request you, by that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would honour my death by making mention of my name in the Register of your country."

This memorable siege owed much of its importance to the crisis at which it occurred, and the general impression felt abroad, that on its results depended the question whether Ireland was to belong to England or to Spain. Of the whole progress of the siege a detailed account has come down to us, if not from the pen of the lord-president himself, at least from his dictation and authority, as none but an eye-witness could have described so distinctly such a succession of strange and stormy scenes. Our attention, however, must be confined to the last closing struggle, when, all offers of surrender having been rejected, the wretched garrison knew that they were to expect no quarter, and therefore fought with all the fury of despair.

From opposite turrets, besiegers and besieged cannonaded each other; every floor, or landing-place, was made a scene of murderous encounter; till, at length, driven before their assailants, the wretched garrison fled to the cellars beneath the vault of the castle. There all conflict ceased; for they were now at the mercy of their pursuers; and a battery was but waiting the signal to fire down among them into the cellars, when about forty of the destined victims cried aloud that they would surrender. Attending, at length, to this cry for mercy, several English officers went down to receive their submission; when MacGeoghegan, the constable, who lay on the floor mortally wounded, was seen to rise from thence slowly, and, having seized a lighted candle, was dragging himself over to an open barrel of gunpowder,—one of nine deposited in that part of the castle. This desperate attempt to blow up himself, the castle, and all within it, was prevented only by an English officer, named Power, who, springing forward, seized the constable in his arms, and there held him, till,

by one of the soldiers, he was slain within his grasp.

On the same day, fifty-eight of the ward, or garrison, were executed in the market-place; and of the whole number, amounting to 143 "selected fighting men," not a single one escaped; but all were either slain, executed, or buried among the ruins; and, to cite the words of the original narrator, "so obstinate and resolved a defence had never before been seen in this kingdom."

Such was the importance attached in Spain to the loss of this castle, that, although a large fleet was then assembled at Corunna, ready to sail with a force for Ireland, orders were sent by the Spanish court to Carracena, governor of Corunna, to countermand, till further instructions, all preparations for this purpose; and the chief, O'Donell, through whose ever-active zeal this powerful armament in aid of Ireland had been obtained, saw all his hopes again blighted and crushed. One effort more, however, was due, he felt, to the great cause in which he had so long laboured. He therefore resolved to appeal again to the Spanish monarch; and earnestly implore of him to send the promised succours. But when on his way to Valladolid, where the king kept his court, he was seized with sickness at the town of Simancas, within two leagues of that city, and there died, having then reached only his twenty-ninth year.⁽¹⁾

The immense power which Tyrone exercised for so many years—a sort of rebel reign—formed altogether a course of affairs which could not be paralleled in the history of any other country. Even his means and mode of living were, throughout a great part of his career, on a scale of lordly grandeur. Such was the natural wealth of the soil, that though the country was ill-inhabited, with little industry stirring, and large tracts of land all lying waste, the chief was yet able, it is said, in the time of his wars, to raise upon Ulster no less princely a revenue than 80,000*l.* a-year.

(1) Relat. Giraldin.

But this flow of success was now rapidly ebbing. After his total defeat at Kinsale, being wholly unable to make any stand against his enemies, he sought refuge, for a time, in Castle Roe, on the Bann; from whence, eluding still his pursuers, he escaped with a small body of infantry, and about sixty horse, to a fastness of great strength, near Lough Ern, named Gleann-cin-cein, or the remote Head of the Glen; and there entrenching his little army, resolved to await the turn of events. Meanwhile, so indefatigably did Mountjoy, and the active commanders under him, sir Arthur Chichester, sir Henry Dockwra, and many others of high repute, continue to hunt, harass, and slaughter the unfortunate natives, that at length all resistance ceased, the sword and famine had done their work, and the march of the victors had nought to obstruct it but heaps of dying and dead. "We have left none," says an actor in this fearful scene, "to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses."

While such was the course pursued towards the bulk of the natives, the wanton insults heaped on their gentry and great lords were even more deeply galling to them. The fate of MacMahon, the potent and popular lord of Monaghan, had given awful warning to his brother chiefs of the utter ruin resistance would bring upon them. In venturing to assert his right to his own property,—an offence not easily forgiven,—he had "dared," we are told, "to stand on high grounds;" and, for this sole offence, though he was otherwise suing for mercy, the lord-deputy ransacked and laid waste his whole country.

To embroil the chieftains with each other, and thus weaken them by their own dissensions, was another of the arts of misrule in which English viceroys became proficient; and it may even be suspected, from some dark hints in a letter of the queen's about this time, that those services were not always bloodless by which the new liegemen of the English crown now earned their adoption to that privilege: "None is to be pardoned,"

says the royal writer; "but upon service done; and not only upon those they particularly hated, but upon any other, according as they shall be directed."

But, notwithstanding that these and other such sources of strife were still in full activity, a thirst for peace had begun to show itself in all quarters, from the throne down to the rebel's hut. Tyrone himself had, through the medium of the lord-deputy, made, in the early part of this year, some movements towards a mediation; and Mountjoy, though, as he owned, not liking to negotiate with Tyrone in any other way than with the sword, saw clearly that a moment was come when such interposition ought to be no longer delayed. The great difficulty hitherto felt by him and Cecil, in all their dealings with this formidable chief, was the strong repugnance expressed by the queen to receiving any suit in his favour whatsoever; her proud fear being, that she might expose herself to scorn, by making him an offer which he would not deign to accept; or, as her feeling is more fully described, in a letter from Cecil,—“Her majesty has the prejudice in her own thoughts, that he would insult her, when it came to the upshot, and that so her opening herself by offer of a pardon would return unto her a double scorn.” By the skilful management, however, of Cecil and the lord-deputy, this repugnance, though strong and stern, was at length surmounted. Tyrone surrendered himself, at Mellefont, to the queen's representative, and, having made humble submission on his knees, renounced the title of the O'Neill, abjured all dependence on foreign authority, and prayed for the restoration of his English rights and honours. In return, on the part of the queen, Mountjoy granted a full pardon to him and his followers, and promised that his lands and his former title should again be vested in him by a patent from the crown. After the ceremony of the earl's submission, Mountjoy, accompanied by him, rode to Drogheda, and from thence, still leading him along, proceeded to Dublin. The day following that of his arrival, accounts were received of

the queen's death ; and, on hearing this intelligence, he was observed to shed tears ; whether, as some supposed, from remembrance of her former kindness to him, or, as others viewed it, regret that he had not delayed a little longer his submission, and thus afforded himself a chance of better terms under the new sovereign.

CHAPTER LII.

JAMES.

The accession of James welcomed in Ireland. — Hopes of the catholic party. — Their disappointment. — Refractory cities obliged to submit to the arms of Mountjoy. — Proclamation of general indemnity and oblivion. — Tyrone and others petition for toleration of their religion. — Mountjoy returns to England. — Reception of the earl of Tyrone and Roderick O'Donnell by the King. — Proceedings of sir George Carew, the king's deputy. — Renewal of the acts of supremacy and uniformity. — Delusive hopes of the catholics. — Rigorous measures against them. — Abolition of Tanistry and Gavelkind. — System of espionage employed against Tyrone. — The chief's increasing difficulties. — Differences between Donogh O'Chane and Tyrone. — Charges against Tyrone. — Violence of his conduct. — His desperation. — Deceptive tranquillity of the country. — Suspected intrigues of Tyrone with the court of Spain. — Departure of Tyrone and Tyrconnel from the kingdom. — Mystery in which this event is involved. — Conduct of Tyrone on his departure. — His unbounded influence with the catholic powers of Europe. — Accomplices of Tyrone. — Sir Cabir O'Doherty. — Surrender to him of Culmore fort. — Colonies in Ireland. — Their effects. — Connexion of the city of London with these colonies. — Character of James considered in connexion with Ireland. — Invidious distinction between the English and the natives. — Parliament summoned in Ireland. — Remonstrance of the lords of the Pale. — Trial of strength of the opposite parties. — Disgraceful exhibition of party feeling. — Secession of the recusant party. — Prorogation of Parliament. — Prototype of the Catholic Association. — Reception of the Irish delegates. — Their dismissal. — Commission of inquiry. — Bill of subsidy. — Complying spirit of the Irish parliament. — The catholics consent to the attainder of Tyrone and his fellow-exiles. — Repeal of obnoxious statutes. — Enforcement of the fine for absence from church. — Remonstrance of the catholics. — Oppressive character and enormous amount of the fines levied on the catholics. — Intolerance of doctor Usher. — Articles of faith issued by him. — Objects of James in establishing the Irish colonies. — His rapacity. — Great uncertainty of titles to landed property in Ireland. — Inquiry into this subject instituted. — Oppressive acts of the Government in the allotment of forfeited lands. — Case of the Byrnes of Wicklow.

[A. D. 1603.] In Ireland the accession of James was

hailed as the opening of a new era of civil and religious peace. No longer subjected to a ruler of foreign origin, they now pledged their willing homage to a direct descendant of their own Milesian princes; and a strong hope was even entertained by them that he would ere long declare his fidelity to the ancient faith. They called to mind his exceeding lenity towards the rebellious catholic lords; the favours lavished by him upon Beaton, the popish archbishop of Glasgow, and his grateful feelings to all those who remained faithful to the queen his mother. These and other remembered proofs of the king's religious bias were now recalled, and fondly dwelt upon by his Irish subjects, as giving earnest of his future zeal in their holy cause; and the sovereign of Waterford, in writing to Mountjoy, to excuse himself and his brother townsmen for having restored their ancient worship, declared they had been induced to take that step by supposing the king to be a Roman catholic. To this Mountjoy merely replied, that he "could not but marvel at their simplicity." (1)

Presuming upon the example of Waterford, the people of Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, ventured to exercise their religion publicly, and even seized upon some churches for their own use. But the mere presence of such an army as Mountjoy's soon curbed these rash movements; and again the ancient churches of the land passed into the hands of foreigners and foes. It was not wholly, however, without some struggle, enough to mark their strong sense of the wrong done to them, that the people of Waterford, at length, surrendered the city. For, on Mountjoy arriving with his army at Grace-Dieu, within the liberties of Waterford, he found the gates closed against him; (2)—the principal citizens all refusing to admit his army, on the plea that, by a charter of king John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. A

1 "James's complaisance to Rome," says Reaumer, "arose much more from fear of Jesuitical intrigues and murders than from conviction of the necessity and utility of more general toleration."

(2) Moryson.

famous jesuit also, Dr. White, a native of that city, came attended by a young Dominican friar ⁽¹⁾ into the English camp; and, proceeding to the lord-deputy's tent, asserted boldly the right of the people to maintain their own religious views; without the sanction of any public authority, — “all of which,” says the relater, “his lordship did most learnedly confute.” The actual results, however, of this strange controversy were, that Mountjoy angrily rated the two theologians; threatened to “draw king James's sword and cut the charter of king John to pieces,” and finally warned them that, if compelled to enter the town by force, he would utterly destroy it, and “strew salt upon the ruins.”

In a similar manner, Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, and other refractory cities were, by the terror of Mountjoy's arms, reduced successively to submission; till, at length, a false and feverish peace, the work of the sword, was enforced throughout the whole kingdom. It was soon felt, however, how much more dangerous than open warfare were those suppressed, but still unquenched hostilities which civil dissension seldom fails to leave behind. With the view, therefore, of enlisting law on the side of peace,—a rare event in the history of Irish legislation,—a Proclamation of General Indemnity and Oblivion was issued, which, though falling very far short of the results promised by its title, was yet of much use in calming the minds of the people, among whom, in that general confusion, there were few who had not, in some way or other, offended against the law. The same proclamation announced to the “Irishry,” who had heard but rarely such cheering words from the throne, that they were all received by the king into his immediate protection; and this “bred,” we are told, “such comfort and security in the hearts of the people, that thereupon ensued the

(1) The friars, says Cox, had the confidence to come in their habits, with the crucifix exalted before them, and to tell the deputy that “the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the catholic faith.”

calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland." (1)

Taking courage from this state of affairs, Tyrone and the other great Irish lords felt themselves emboldened to petition the king for toleration of their religion. By James, however, it was deemed sufficient that the penal laws should not be executed, but remain, as they were then, in effect, suspended, by a connivance differing little from toleration. In such evasive and shifting expedients lay the whole secret of that gift of "king-craft," upon which this monarch so much prided himself; and which enabled him to become from thenceforth far more reserved in his concessions to the Irish.

Having planted a strong garrison in the town of Cork, given orders that the castle of Limerick should be fortified, and quietly settled all the other cities and towns of Munster, Mountjoy, who had been lately made lord lieutenant of Ireland, left sir George Carew as the king's deputy during his absence, and, attended by the earl of Tyrone and Roderick O'Donell,—the latter the brother of the late chief, Red Hugh,—proceeded, laden with honours and praises, to England. The king received the two Irish lords with marks of favour, and Tyrone was confirmed in his titles and possessions; while O'Donell was created earl of Tyrconnel, and had a considerable estate in that territory bestowed upon him.

The favour thus graciously shown to these two popular chiefs diffused a general feeling of pleasure throughout Ulster, and served to prepare the minds of the people of that province for the great change they were about to undergo, by the introduction among them, for the first time, of the forms and principles of English law. It was during the government of sir George Carew that this useful reform was commenced, and by him were made the first sheriffs ever appointed, in Tyrone and Tyrconnel. Shortly after, Carew sent thither sir Edward

(1) Davies.

Pelham and sir John Davies, (the latter at that time celebrated, no less as a poet than as a lawyer,) who were the first judges of assize that ever sate in those countries; and though to the higher ranks such visitors were somewhat distasteful, they were hailed with welcome by the bulk of the natives, "than whom," says sir John Davies himself, "there is no nation of people under the sun that doth better love equal and impartial justice."

How fallacious had been all those hopes with which the Catholics had looked to James, if not for approval, at least for tolerance of their worship, was now beginning to be made manifest. Instead of experiencing any remission or mitigation of their wrongs, they saw those two penal statutes, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, re-imposed upon them with refreshed rigour. By the former of these statutes,—one of the first-fruits of the Reformation,—an oath was required affirming the king's supremacy in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes. Without taking this oath, no one could be preferred to any degree in a university, or plead at the bar, hold the office of magistrate, or sue out the livery of his lands. The new monarch, indeed, had been but a short time on the throne, when orders were sent by him to Dublin that the oath of supremacy should be administered to all catholic lawyers and justices of peace, and all the laws against recusants put in strict execution. Accordingly, of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin who had been summoned before the privy council, nine were censured in the castle-chamber; six of the aldermen were fined each one hundred pounds, the other three fifty pounds each, and they were all committed prisoners to the castle during the pleasure of the court. It was also ordered, about the same time, that none of the citizens should hold any office until they had conformed.⁽¹⁾

Notwithstanding these penal proceedings, the people still continued to feed their hopes with the fond and

(1) Harris's History of the City of Dublin.

weak delusion that the king was at heart a catholic. In the speech he made to his first parliament,—one of those odd and loquacious displays which had gained for him among his flatterers the title of “the British Solomon,”—he had, in speaking of the Church of Rome, styled it “the Mother Church;” and the tender leaning towards the old faith which this expression was thought to imply, awakened in the catholics a fresh feeling of comfort and hope. In vain their adversaries reminded them, tauntingly, that on his first entrance into England, he proclaimed liberty to all prisoners, except “those confined for papistry or wilful murder.” Whether from policy or self-delusion, they still continued to count confidently on his favour towards the ancient faith, and not only celebrated their rites openly,⁽¹⁾ but began to repair their old abbeys and monasteries in several parts of the kingdom.

[A. D. 1605.] But not long were the people allowed to indulge in this wilful error. Threats soon got abroad of yet sterner measures “to suppress the insolence of the papists;” and, shortly after, a proclamation was issued, commanding all catholic priests to quit Ireland under the penalty of death. This rigorous measure filled with alarm the great English families of the Pale, who, strongly denying its legality, sent to the government a firm remonstrance on the subject. They also preferred a petition for freedom of religious worship, which happened to be presented to the council on the very day when they received intelligence of the gunpowder conspiracy. This circumstance being thought suspicious by the king’s ministers, as indicating some understanding between the conspirators and the catholics, the leading petitioners were all confined in the castle of Dublin; and their principal agent, sir Patrick Barnewall, was sent to England and committed to the Tower.

(1) To such an extent had this impression gained ground, that a joint letter was addressed to the king by the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Meath, expressing their opinions of the dangerous attempts likely to be made to induce his majesty to favour the Romish religion.

In the same year, the ancient customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind were by judgment in the court of King's Bench abolished, and Irish estates made descendible according to the course of the common law. These changes in the law of tenure could not but influence much the relations and distribution of political power. Hitherto, patents for English tenures had been granted only to great lords and chieftains, whose vassals, subject to them alone, and still retaining their old laws and usages, were by no link of allegiance or service attached to the crown. This system of clanship was now abolished. The people in general surrendered their lands, and received them back as English tenures. The jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the chiefs was set aside, and their followers taken immediately under the protection of the crown. The land held in demesne by each chief was all that now was granted to him; while, upon the part occupied by his tenants, a certain rent was fixed, which he received in lieu of former exactions.

From this change it was sanguinely hoped that important benefits would be derived as well by the people as by the sovereign; and that the king would be thenceforth looked to as the protector of the whole community. But the result by no means realized these specious hopes. The change weakened, indeed, the dependence of the people on the higher classes, but did not the more strengthen their attachment to the crown. Meanwhile, the security lent to property by this new investiture led the measure to be generally welcomed by the landed interest, and their example was soon adopted by many of the trading towns and corporations, which surrendered their old titles, and received new charters from the crown.

The calming effect produced for a while, as well on the government as on the people of Ireland, by the kind and gracious reception given to Tyrone at the English court, had now nearly passed away; and again was re-

vived, throughout the Pale, all that hatred to the chief himself, and envy of his large possessions, which had long marked him as a destined victim and prey. In this persecution of the people's favourite, the government took, of course, an active part. Wherever he went his haunts were tracked by official spies,—a class of men whom we find described by the attorney-general of that day as being so expert in their odious calling that the harassed natives endeavoured in vain to elude their vigilance. "The spy," says Davies, "knows not only how they live, and what they do, but can even foresee what they purpose or intend to do;" and Tyrone himself was heard to complain, that so numerous "were the eyes watching over him, that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof within a few hours after." (1)

But difficulties far more trying had now gathered around his path. The intrusion, for such he considered it, of English law into Ulster, had embarrassed very much his position, both territorial and political; and a lawsuit concerning lands, in which he was involved with sir Donogh O'Chane, a powerful neighbouring chief, not only exposed, by its searching disclosures, the reduced state of his present resources, but showed how hollow had been the foundation of much of that structure of wealth and power which, through a long series of years, he had managed so marvellously to maintain.

The case in question between the two chiefs was submitted for judgment to the council chamber; and after taking into consideration the claims of the respective parties, it was found that by neither could any title to the inheritance in question be proved; that ever since the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign, it had been vested in the actual possession of the crown; and that it was owing as much to the lands "lying in such remote parts," as to the "ignorance and negligence of officers," that

(1) Sir John Davies's Hist. Relat.

O'Chane and his followers had been suffered to intrude thus on the royal possessions. ⁽¹⁾

The claim to these lands advanced by Tyrone was founded upon a grant from his grandfather, Con Baccagh. But it was discovered that in those lands and other parts of the disputed territory, Con Baccagh had only a chiefry of a certain number of cows, and was not owner of the land in demesne. It appeared, also, that by a statute of 11 Elizabeth the land in demesne had been settled in the crown, and had never since then been granted to the earl or any other subject. It was, therefore, open, of course, to Tyrone to sue by petition to the king for his chiefry, but to the possession of the lands themselves he had no colour of right whatever.

Among other charges brought against Tyrone in the course of this inquiry, he was accused of having possessed himself, in the range of his sweeping encroachments, of the greatest part of the bishopric of Derry; ⁽²⁾ and, Donogh O'Chane having brought forward some written proofs of this charge, Tyrone violently, before the whole council, snatched the papers out of his hands. This intemperate conduct could not be suffered to pass unrebuked, and, at the ensuing meeting of the council, the offending chief made humble submission for the outrage.

This derangement of all his affairs, combined with the feeling, ever uppermost in his thoughts, of deadly hatred to the English name, decided Tyrone to abandon all hope except from foreign swords, and to lose no time in preparing his countrymen for the struggle. In all his efforts towards this object, the faithful Tyrconnel still continued his ever-watchful co-operator; no was it long before they found in Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, a

(1) The particulars of this case of O'Chane, which appears to have been one of those difficulties that drove Tyrone to sudden flight, may be found in a letter from sir John Davies to Salisbury, July 1. 1607.—*S. P. O.*

(2) We find in the State Paper Office a letter of Tyrone to the king, asserting that the lands claimed by the bishop of Derry had always belonged to Tyrone's ancestors. See also letter from the lord-deputy to Salisbury, May 26. 1607.—*S. P. O.*

ready associate in their national enterprise. This young lord had early been schooled in bitter enmity to the English, having been brought up in the Tower by his mother, who shared voluntarily there her husband's imprisonment. It was at Maynooth, the ancient seat of the earls of Kildare, near Dublin, that these lords held the meetings at which they concerted their plans; and in the garden of the same mansion it was that Tyrconnel first proposed to Delvin to take a part in their daring designs. (1) How painful to that noble family were the suspicions thus incurred by them, may be judged from a letter addressed to Salisbury, sometime after, by Mabel, countess of Kildare, expressing her sorrow "that the late treasons should have been plotted at Maynooth," and strongly protesting her own innocence.

While thus secretly this plot was gathering, there reigned every where, through the whole realm, an appearance of perfect tranquillity. Tyrone, though thus anew engaged in conspiracy, still continued his social relations with the lord-deputy; and, to judge of the state of the country from the account given of Munster by sir John Davies, seldom had a calm so settled and promising prevailed throughout the kingdom. "It was quite a miracle," he says, "to perceive the quiet and conformity of the people."

But, in the midst of this general tranquillity, an event occurred which, as much from the mystery thrown around it as from its own intrinsic importance, spread alarm throughout the whole country; and the vigilance which it awakened in the ruling powers added considerably to the danger and difficulties of Tyrone. An anonymous letter, directed to sir William Usher, clerk of the privy council, had lately been dropped at the door of the council chamber, mentioning a design then in contemplation for seizing the castle of Dublin and murdering the lord-deputy;—these acts to be followed, as the

(1) Delvin's confession—taken 6th of November, 1697.

letter stated, by a general revolt, assisted by Spanish forces. For this intelligence the English authorities were not wholly unprepared, having already, through various channels, both at home and abroad, received such accounts of Tyrone's practices with the court of Spain as rendered them aware of the stirrings of mischief in that quarter [A. D. 1607;] and the secret informant by whom principally these warnings were conveyed was the earl of Howth, a recent convert to the new creed. (1)

We now approach the last stage of this remarkable man's public career. About three months after his submission in the council-chamber, the people of Ireland heard with surprise, in which, soon after, all Europe joined, that Tyrone and Tyreconnel had suddenly departed from the kingdom, taking along with them their families and a large number of followers, and leaving no clue whatever to intimate why or whither they thus had fled. This sudden flight of the two popular chiefs produced, at the time, a strong sensation throughout Europe; and to Spain it was generally supposed they would bend their course, as that court had long encouraged their brave resistance to the power of England, and more than once had furnished them secretly with money. There had been rumours also abroad that the titular archbishop of Dublin, who enjoyed a pension from the Spanish monarch, had been sent from Lovaine to Spain to procure assistance for Tyrone. It was soon learned, however, that the fugitive lords had embarked, with their train of followers, at Rathmulla, a small town in the north of Ireland, and from thence set sail to the coast of France.

The cause and motives of this precipitate flight have ever since remained involved in mystery. In vain have efforts been made to find in contemporary writers some solution of the difficulty, and historian after historian

(1) Letter from the lord-deputy Chichester to the earl of Salisbury, September 8th, 1607. There are also some curious details of this event, "drawn from sundry discourses had with the lord Howth between the 29th of June and 25th of August,"—*S. P. O.*

have fruitlessly tried to supply, by mere conjecture, their want of evidence on the subject. All this time however, there have been lying, unnoticed, and apparently unknown, in the great repository of our State Papers, some letters written by sir John Davies, at the very time of Tyrone's flight, and containing some curious details of that event, which help to clear away most of the mystery that hitherto surrounded it. That, at this time, the chief had again embarked in treasonable schemes, though still living on friendly terms with the lord-deputy, these letters leave no room to doubt. But, broken down in his means and resources, and harassed by the numerous law-suits in which he was engaged, he saw all that structure of wealth and power which he had so marvellously conjured up sinking rapidly from under his feet. Some of the many reverses and trials that now pressed upon his mind, and at length drove him into headlong flight, will be best described in sir John Davies's own words. "It is certain," he says, "that Tyrone repines in his heart at the introduction of English government into his country, where, until his last submission, he ever lived like a free prince, or rather like an absolute tyrant. But now the law of England and the ministers thereof were shackles and hand-locks unto him; and the garrisons planted in his 'country' were as thorns in his side. Besides, to wrest any part of that land from him, which he hath heretofore held after the Irish manner, was as grievous to him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body."

By which of these various vexations he was at length driven into headlong flight, does not very clearly appear; but the following is the strange account which sir John Davies gives, of the departure of the whole party:—

"The Saturday before, the earl Tyrone was with the lord-deputy, at Slane, where he had spoken with his lordship, of his journey into England, and told him he would be there about the beginning of Michaelmas term, according to his majesty's directions. He took leave of

the lord-deputy [A. D. 1607.] in a more sad and passionate manner than was usual with him. From thence he went to Mellifont and Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly, when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because in general it was not his manner to use such compliments. On Monday he went to Dungarvon, where he rested two whole days, and on Wednesday night they say he travelled all night. It is likewise reported that the countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and weeping, said 'she could go no further.' Whereupon the earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath, that 'he would kill her on the spot if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance.' When the party, which consisted (men, women, and children) of fifty or sixty persons, arrived at Lough Foyle, it was found that their journey had not been so secret but that the governor there had notice of it, and sent to invite Tyrone and his son to dinner. Their haste, however, was such that they accepted not his courtesy, but hastened on to Rathmulla, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the earl of Tyrconnel and his company met with them." From thence the whole party embarked, and landing on the coast of Normandy, proceeded through France to Brussels. Davies concludes his curious narrative with a few pregnant words, in which the difficulties that England had to contend with in conquering Tyrone are thus acknowledged with all the frankness of a generous foe:—"As for us that are here," he says, "we are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe, and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds, had not been able to bring to pass."

From the peculiar position held by this able man, as the authorized representative of the Irish people, such was the station long maintained by him in Europe, that,

in any league of the great catholic powers against England the name and influence of such an ally must naturally have ranked among their most useful resources. From this commanding, though strange and anomalous position, so suddenly did he now sink into utter oblivion, that of the remaining years of his life little certain is known. Fixing his residence at Rome, he received from the pope a pension of 100 crowns, and of 600 from the king of Spain; and while, on the hills of his native land, the threat of "the O'Neill is coming," still continued to be the war-cry of his countrymen, the chief himself, old, blind, and worn down by misfortune, dragged on the remainder of his wretched days, and died in the year 1616. A few years after, his son was assassinated at Brussels, and in him the most distinguished branch of the great Irish house of Uly-Nial became extinct. ⁽¹⁾

Among those seized and imprisoned as having been accomplices in Tyrone's conspiracy, was the lord Delvin, who, having been committed to the castle of Dublin, was tried and condemned. But, through the negligence, or, probably, collusion of the constable ⁽²⁾ of the castle, ropes were privately conveyed to him, by the help of which he descended the wall, and, a fleet horse being in readiness for him, reached safely the castle of Clochnacater. A proclamation was immediately issued for his apprehension, and sir Richard Wingfield, marshal of the army, was sent in pursuit of him. But he continued to elude the marshal's force, and it was not till the following year, that, presenting himself voluntarily before the

⁽¹⁾ See Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen, by Mr. James Wills. The view taken by this well-informed writer, of the whole course and character of Tyrone, is highly worthy of the attention of all inquirers into Irish history.

⁽²⁾ "The negligence or corruption of an unworthy officer hath not only overthrown much of my labours, but brought new work upon me. For the constable of this castle, notwithstanding my charge, watch, and directions, hath suffered Delvin to escape. I can as yet learn no otherwise the manner of it but that it was by a rope of thirty yards, by which he passed over the wall, which is of great height." Letter from lord Chichester, S. P. O. According to this account, Delvin fled to the mountains of Siew-carberie.

king, he was not only pardoned, but graciously raised to the higher dignity of Westmcaith.

As by the state it had been deemed expedient that the complaint made by the two fugitive lords of their having been perscuted for their religion should be publicly denied, a proclamation was issued by the king, wherein he affirms that "they had not the least shadow of molestation, nor was there any purpose of proceeding against them in matters of religion;—their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man valiant that does not glory in rapine and oppression; and therefore 'twere unreasonable to trouble them for religion, before it could be perceived by their conversation that they had any." His majesty adds, "that in all matters of controversie they were favoured, except in such cases where they designed to tyrannise over their fellow-subjects; that they did stir up sedition and intestine rebellion in the kingdom, and sent their instruments (priests and others) to make offers to foreign states for their assistance; and that, under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the extirpation of all those subjects now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended of English race."

The unwonted but welcome tranquillity which prevailed through the whole kingdom, after the flight of the two earls, was, in the spring of this year [A. D. 1608.], interrupted by the insurrection of sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Inish-owen, then little past his twentieth year, in whom the hatred of England and Englishmen, so common among his countrymen, had lately been roused into fiercer activity by personal insults to himself. He had been accused by the lord-deputy Chichester of having been privy to the late conspiracy of Tyrone; and, still more galling, sir George Paulet, the governor of Derry, had, in some angry altercation with the young chief, dishonoured him by a blow. But the revenge he took for these insults was bloody and treacherous. Under

the guise of hospitality, he invited the governor of Derry, his intended victim; and likewise Hart, the commandant of Culmore Fort, and his wife.

In the course of the feast the English officer was suddenly seized by armed men, who threatened him with death if he did not instantly surrender the fort. This the commander firmly refused; but, unfortunately, his wife was likewise in their power, and her they led to the gate of the fortress, conjuring her to use all her influence with the garrison, and likewise sternly reminding her that she had now no other choice left than either the death of her husband or the surrender of the place. The appeal of the wife, assisted doubtless by the fears of the besieged, effected easily the young chief's purpose. The lives of Hart and his wife were spared; but the garrison were instantly massacred; and, after this work of slaughter, sir Cahir, at two o'clock in the morning, having been supplied at Culmore with artillery, arms, and ammunition, surprised and took by storm the town of Derry and its castle. Being flushed with all this success, and even flattered into a hope that Tyrone himself was coming with a large force to his relief, (1) this youth maintained for five months after a brisk but desultory struggle; and was killed at last by an accidental shot, in a rencounter with the troops of marshal Wingfield. This battle, it may be remarked, affords a proof that the practice of employing catholics in the English service, which, in the late queen's time, had been allowed to a great extent, was still permitted under the present monarch.

By the flight and outlawry of the two earls, and the total ruin of O'Doherty's party, no less than 800,000 English acres, comprising almost the whole of the six northern counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, had escheated to the crown. This unexpected accession of territory—not the less welcome to the peaceful James for having been

(1) Bellum statuit ducere usque ad adventum O'Nelli. — *Sullivan*.

bloodlessly acquired—came now most seasonably, as helping to further the one great object of his present thoughts and dreams,—the plantation of a colony in Ulster. In the late reign an attempt had been made, but not successfully, to form such a settlement in this province; and James himself, in reforming his Scottish dominions, had sanguinely counted on making his Highlanders thrifty and sober by planting among them colonies from the more industrious countries.

But to the present enterprise he brought not only his own skill and experience, but the aid and counsel of all the most eminent men of that day. Even lord Bacon was formally called upon to lend assistance to the royal project. But, being ill versed in Irish affairs, this great man fell into some mistakes which we find thus gravely noticed by the official commentator:—"This is not so exact as the rest of lord Bacon's writings." Of all his assistants, however, by far the most useful was sir Arthur Chichester, afterwards baron of Belfast, and at this time lord-deputy. In addition to his general capacity and knowledge, few persons were so well acquainted with the fit territories to be planted, the condition and habits of the people, or the pretensions and expectations of the different chiefs. To the care of this officer, therefore, was wisely entrusted the completion of the royal plan.

However law may have sanctioned the principle upon which this act of spoliation was founded,—an act by which six out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland were indiscriminately proscribed and plundered,—it was wholly impossible that such sweeping injustice should not work out its own punishment, or that aught but corruption and demoralisation among the people should be the result of such rapacity on the part of their rulers.

According to the scheme devised finally for this settlement, the lands to be planted were separated into three portions: the first or least portion containing 1000 English acres; the second or middle portion, 1500; and the third, 2000 acres. Of these lots, the largest was

reserved for undertakers and servitors of the crown—these servitors being of two sorts, either the great officers of state, or else rich adventurers from England. The second division or portion was allotted to servitors of the crown in Ireland, with permission to take either English or Irish tenants; and the third lot was distributed indiscriminately among the natives of the province, (1)

The lively interest taken in this enterprise by the city of London conduced considerably to its success. The corporation, having accepted of large grants in the county of Derry,—which from thenceforth received the title of London-Derry,—engaged to expend upon the plantation 20,000*l.*, and likewise to build the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine. For the protection of the infant colony a military force was thought to be necessary; and, in order to enable the king to raise the money required for this purpose, a scheme was devised by sir Anthony Shirley, which first led to the institution of the order of Baronets. This hereditary dignity was to be conferred by patent, at a fixed price, and for the support of the army in Ulster. The number created was not to exceed two hundred, all gentlemen of three descents, and in the actual possession of lands to the yearly value of 1,000*l.*

To consider James, says a great historian, (2) in the most advantageous light, “we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland;” and one of the benefits really due to him in this capacity was the abolition of all those old laws and usages to which the great bulk of the Irish people had still eagerly clung. Besides the customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind, already mentioned as having been abolished by him, the whole system of the Brehon law, with all its exactions and uncouth usages, was now declared to be wholly annulled.

This important reform, by which the way was first

(1) Harris's *Hibernica*.

(2) Hume.

thrown open for the diffusion of English law throughout all Ireland, forms an era in that country's civilisation. But far otherwise was it regarded by the people themselves, who saw in these enactments but the work of hands which had seldom before been ever raised except to harass and coerce them. Had the royal reformer, before he released them from the restraints of their own country's code, begun by initiating them in the use of another and better, the process of change would have been more gradual and safe, and the very transition would have been in itself a course of instruction. But, as if to render their state of outlawry complete, while thus forbidden the use of their own country's law, they were still shut out as aliens and enemies from the law of their masters.

The same suspicious and jealous feeling was manifested in the position assigned to the natives in this new settlement. The custom hitherto of the better classes was to fix their dwellings on the rich, open plains, leaving the natives to swarm, unwatched, in their rude fastnesses on the hills. But far more cautious was the plan adopted by these new colonists; for, while to the gentry were allotted lands upon the heights and in places of strength, the native settlers were lodged chiefly on the plains, where watchful eyes could be ever upon them.

[A. D. 1613.] Such was the state, comparatively tranquil, into which the country had subsided, when the lord-deputy deemed it expedient to hold a parliament, the first held in that kingdom during an interval of seven-and-twenty years; and likewise the first that extended the sphere of its representation beyond the small and exclusive limits of the English Pale. (1) During that period

1 See for some comments on James's parliament the speech delivered by the earl of Clare, in the Irish House of Lords, on his own motion for the Union. "I repeat," he says, "without incurring the hazard of contradiction, that Ireland never had any assembly which could be called a parliament until the reign of James I."

We find in the "*Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.*" the following account of the opening of this parliament:—"There were the lord-deputy, with all the

important changes had taken place, and many new elements of strife and mischief had been introduced, among which the most active was the watchful rigour with which the penalties on recusant catholics were enforced. From the new parliament measures even still harsher were dreaded; and late events, by increasing the power of the government, had added considerably to their means of coercion and oppression. Since last a house of commons had assembled in Dublin, seventeen new counties had been formed, and forty boroughs incorporated; and in fabricating these boroughs, so little had either law or honesty been consulted, that most of them consisted of only a few scattered houses, built by the undertakers in Ulster. (1)

Against this mockery of legislation several of the lords of the Pale spiritedly remonstrated, complaining that they, the ancient nobility and gentry of the Pale, "were set at nought and disgraced by men lately raised to place and power; that the new boroughs had been incorporated with the most shameful partiality (2), and that their representatives were attorneys' clerks and servants." These lords concluded by manfully demanding that all

peers of the realm and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpets; the lord David Barry, viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and, after all these, the lord-deputy (now baron of Belfast) followed riding upon a most stately horse, himself attired in a rich robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St. Patrick to hear divine service and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God, Christopher Hampton, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland.

(1) These boroughs were accordingly styled by the catholics "*tituli sine re et signenta sine rebus*,"—*Cox*.

(2) In a remonstrance addressed to the king, by the Lords of the Pale, on the fabrication of these new boroughs, they observe that "the managing of elections for that parliament, had generally spread so grievous an apprehension as is not in their power to express, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations, in places that scarcely pass the rank of the poor villages of the poorest country in Christendom, do tend to nought else but that by the voices of a few selected for that purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreme penal law should be imposed on his majesty's subjects."—*Desiderat. Curios. Hibern.*

laws which had for their object to force consciences should be repealed. Their bold appeal, however, proved unavailing. The lord-deputy continued to furnish new boroughs, according as they were wanted; and many of them were not incorporated, until the writs for summoning a parliament had already issued. Notwithstanding these active exertions on the part of the government, so nearly balanced were the two parties, or so uncertain still their relative strength, that the catholics counted sanguinely on a majority; nor was it until the meeting of parliament that, to their great mortification, they found they had miscalculated their numbers. Of the 232 members returned, six were absent, 125 were protestants, and 101 formed the recusant or catholic party. The upper house consisted of sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls; and of these a considerable majority were friends of the administration.

The first trial of the strength of the parties was on the election of the speaker; — the competitors for this office being sir John Davies, the Irish attorney-general, and sir John Everard, a respectable recusant who had been a justice of the king's bench. Before they proceeded to the election, a question was raised by Everard's party, whether those returned for boroughs illegally constituted had not thereby forfeited their right of electing. The altercation on this point was becoming angry and disorderly, when sir Oliver St. John, master of the ordnance, remarked that controversies of this description were best decided by votes, and that the affirmative party usually went out of the house, while the negative kept their seats. He therefore called upon those who voted for sir John Davies to attend him to the lobby, and was followed thither by all his party.

Meanwhile the recusants, whether believing or merely presuming that they were the majority, proceeded to elect sir John Everard; and having hurried through the accustomed forms, placed him triumphantly in the

speaker's chair. They were then rejoined by the government members, when another and still less dignified scene took place. Exclaiming against this outrage, they declared Davies to be duly elected, and after in vain endeavouring to force the sturdy recusant from the chair, seated their speaker in his lap.

[A. D. 1613.] This strange scene was followed soon after by the secession of the recusant members; and their example was promptly adopted by the lords of their party, all refusing to accept sir John Davies as their speaker, or to acknowledge the right or authority by which he was elected. The restless spirit which these events kept constantly alive, was regarded with the more apprehension, from the scanty means now left to the government of preserving the public peace; the whole military force of the kingdom having been lately reduced to the trifling amount of 1700 foot and 200 horse.

Finding it impossible to make any progress with an assembly so constituted, the lord-deputy prorogued the parliament, and shortly after a deputation from the Irish catholics proceeded to London, to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. It was at first designed that this mission should consist only of the lords Gormanstown and Dunboyne, on the part of the catholic peers, and two knights and two baronets, in the name of the commons. But, as their hopes began to brighten, the deputation was gradually enlarged to eight peers, and about twice as many members of the lower house.

It may here be remarked, as one of the proofs of the sad sameness of Irish history, that nearly 200 years after these events, when, by the descendants of these catholic lords and gentry, the same wrongs were still suffered, the same righteous cause to be upheld, it was by expedients nearly similar that they contrived to resist peaceably their persecutors. In the separate assembly formed by the recusants we find the prototype of the Catholic Association; while the large fund so promptly raised, to defray the cost of the deputation to England, was in its

spirit and national purpose, a forerunner of the Catholic Rent.

[A. D. 1613.] The reception given at first to the Irish delegates had been harsh and insulting. The English council had tried to intimidate them, and two of their number, Talbot and Luttrell, were committed prisoners, one to the Tower, the other to the Fleet. By the king the delegates were rated in his own peculiar fashion. The letter which the lords of the Pale had addressed to him,—“a few men,” as he contemptuously styled them, “who threatened him with rebellion,”—he declared to be “rash and insolent;” and with respect to those returns to parliament of which they had complained, “nothing faulty,” he said, “was to be found in the government; unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.” To the complaint made of the numerous boroughs constituted by him, the royal reply was, “What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs? my council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But, what if I had made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? the more, the merrier; the fewer, the better cheer.”

Finally, he dismissed the Irish delegates with a severe reprimand, telling them that their proceedings had been “rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which, however, by reason of their submission, he would forbear,—but not remit, until he should see their dutiful carriage in this parliament.” Meanwhile, a commission of inquiry was granted; the complaints made by the recusants were promptly attended to, and, among other important admissions, it was conceded, that members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued had no right to sit during the session.

At the close of these sessions of parliament, all was peace and amity on both sides. In pursuance of the royal edict, an act of general pardon and oblivion was vouchsafed, and the whole proceedings were closed by a bill of subsidy, granting to the king, his heirs and suc-

cessors, from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards, two shillings and eightpence in the pound; from aliens twice this sum; and out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards, four shillings in the pound. In returning thanks for this bountiful grant, his majesty said he 'could now clearly perceive that the difficult beginnings of his parliament in Ireland were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of parliaments in that kingdom.' "We, therefore," he added, "have cancelled the memory of them, and are now so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms, and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate as we can be for the safety of our own person."

When parliament again assembled, the angry feeling displayed by both parties, at their first meeting, had almost entirely subsided. The skilful management of the lord-deputy was visible in the altered tone of the whole assembly; and as it was known that sir John Everard and other members of the popular party had announced their intention of aiding the measures of the government, little doubt was felt of a peaceful and amicable result. Still more to secure this object, the examination of all contested elections was suspended, by common consent, during the present session; and it was likewise understood that whatever new laws had been intended, none directed against the professors or teachers of popery were to be proposed.

In return for these specious concessions, the catholic party weakly consented to lend their countenance to an act,—the bill for the attainder of Tyrone and his fellow-exiles,—which, in itself unjust and vindictive, assumed, as sanctioned by their party, a still more odious character, and left a stain upon the record of their proceedings during this reign. To this measure, much to their

shame, the whole of the Catholic party gave their assent; thus sacrificing to an unworthy compromise all those national hopes and sympathies with which, for upwards of thirty years, the name of Tyrone had been deeply associated. Still more faithless was it in those spiritual lords, who had hailed this chief as the chosen champion of the catholic church, to forsake him now in his fallen condition. Yet such was ultimately the result of this hollow and time-serving coalition. in the commons the bill was moved by sir John Everard, a recusant knight, and passed unanimously; while, in the upper-house, only one courageous prelate, the titular archbishop of Tuam, gave his vote against the attainder.

Another of the important acts passed in this parliament was the repeal of all those old statutes which had been enacted against the natives of Irish blood, while yet they were considered as enemies. They were now admitted to all the privileges of English law as dutiful subjects of the same monarch. It was by acts of this description, that James proved himself not wholly unworthy of those flowery praises which his attorney-general so lavishly bestowed upon him. By acts like this it was that Davies, who had not wholly sunk the poet in the lawyer, was led to anticipate a period when such healing legislation would "bring comfort and security to the hearts of all men;" when Ireland "would be as fruitful as the Land of Canaan," and when "the strings of the Irish harp, being thus fingered by the civil magistrate, would make good harmony in the common weal." (1).

But, however brightly a courtier's pen might thus colour up the future, to those versed in the real signs of popular feeling far different must have been the aspect which the state of Ireland at this time presented. Nor did the change of administration that now took place, hold forth much promise of amendment. The late lord-deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, having received from the

(1) Davies.

king a grant of the whole territory of Inisowen, was now created baron of Belfast, and ominous rumours already announced that his successor, sir Oliver St. John, had come with instructions to enforce rigorously [A. D. 1623.] the legal fine for absence from church; the most obnoxious of all the exactions wrung from the people, on the score of religion, and therefore always the most harshly and unrelentingly extorted. How grievously this tax on conscience was felt by all classes, appears strikingly from a speech delivered by sir John Everard, while still in full favour with the court for his recent service. Referring to the subsidies lately granted, with no sparing hand, to the king, he humbly prayed of him, "on the knees of his heart," in behalf of his country, that the statute of the 2d of Elizabeth might be something moderated for a time, which being granted, he added, "if the king were willing to demand two, three, or four subsidies, he doubted not of any denial hereafter."

Though the penal code, that bitter fruit of the Reformation, had not yet attained all that fulness of venom into which it afterwards matured, we find in a remonstrance put forth by the catholics, at this period, sufficient proofs of the baleful maturity it had then attained. In this memorial, the remonstrants complain "that their children were not allowed to study in foreign universities, that all the catholics of noble birth were excluded from offices and honours, and even from the magistracy in their respective counties; that catholic citizens and burgesses were removed from all situations of power or profit in the different corporations; that catholic barristers were not permitted to plead in the courts of law; and that the inferior classes were burdened with fines, distresses, excommunications, and other punishments, which reduced them to the lowest degree of poverty." (1)

While thus, in their civil concerns, the catholics were met at every step by some degrading disqualifica-

(1) Lingard.

tion, some insulting obstacle, the wrongs and humiliations they had to endure on account of their creed were still more degrading and intolerable. Nor were the jurors who had to try these cases of recusancy always sure that they would not be tried and punished themselves; as any reluctance on their part to find a verdict for the crown was regarded as suspicious, and therefore generally punished. "The star-chamber," said Chichester, "is the proper court to punish recusants, who will not find for the king upon good evidence." Although the sum levied each time for non-attendance at public worship was no more than twelve pence, the amount thus raised in both kingdoms appears to have been enormous; and it was usual, we are told, for Elizabeth to allow these penalties to run on for several years, so as to levy them all at once, and thus ruin those who had incurred her displeasure. (1)

In Ireland this penal tax was of course enforced with the utmost rigour; and from the illegal manner in which the statute was executed, the fees were always five times the amount of the penalty; so that, instead of the twelve pence fine, intended by law to go to the poor, ten shillings were always exacted by clerks and officers for fees. Thus the only redeeming feature of the tax—the appropriation of its product to the works of charity—was shamelessly evaded; and the defence set up by Chichester for this robbery of the poor, whether meant by him in earnest or in jest, is characteristic both of the man and the times;—"the poor of the parishes," he said, "are not fit to receive the money, being catholics themselves; and therefore ought to pay the like penalty."

It was shortly after the arrival of the new lord-deputy, that doctor James Usher, the great ornament of the church of Ireland, preached a sermon before him, which, from its text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," as well as its general tendency, was strongly objected to as breath-

(1) By means of this tax, says Hume, twenty pounds a month could be levied on every one who frequented not the established worship.

ing a spirit of religious intolerance and persecution. That to this charge he was in some degree open, may be inferred from a letter addressed to him by primate Hampton, in which, reprehending, with much mildness, some parts of his sermon, he advised him to retract voluntarily all that was objected to, and more especially the offensive threat of drawing the sword.

A convocation being held in Dublin at this time; it was deemed expedient by them that the church of Ireland should promulgate, in the manner of other churches, a creed or public confession of its faith, and to doctor Usher, by common consent, the task of drawing up the articles of this protestant creed was entrusted. But, although commenced under such high auspices, the attempt proved a total failure; (1) the creed compiled by this eminent man being a medley of confused doctrines, in which, together with the views of Whitgift, as embodied in the Lambeth articles, were mixed all those fancies of the French Huguenots, identifying the pope with Antichrist; and these, with other peculiar notions of his own, were all incorporated into the articles of the church of Ireland. Being approved of in convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the lord-deputy Chichester, this strange creed, which, thirty years after, it cost the church so much thought and trouble to get rid of, became for the time the accredited creed of Irish protestantism.

While the dignitaries of the English Pale were thus employed, the great mass of the natives themselves, estranged and aloof from the seats of government, remained still in that fallen and spiritless state to which

(1) In speaking of this strange enterprise of Usher, Doctor Heylin remarks, "The book was so contrived that all the Sabbatarian and Calvinian rigours were declared therein to be the doctrines of that church of Ireland." Another of Usher's objects in this creed is thus explained by himself. "The Irish nation," he says, "at that time, were most tenaciously addicted to the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, and must therefore bend to the opposite extreme, before they could be straight and orthodox in these points of doctrine."

the loss of their great leaders, and the utter ruin of their plans and prospects, had reduced them. Without either allies to look to abroad, or trusty friends to guide them at home, they had nothing left them but still to brood over their wrongs, and await watchfully a day of retribution and revenge.

[A. D. 1623.] It was towards the end of this reign that a most threatening proclamation was issued, commanding the whole of the catholic clergy, both secular and regular, to depart the kingdom within forty days, "after which all persons were prohibited to converse with them."

Although the increase of the royal revenues formed doubtless the principal object of James's colonising schemes, it is clear that the interests also of religion, as connected with politics, were much considered by him in these settlements, and that he counted upon the aid of his Protestant colonies for securing to the crown a majority in both houses of parliament.

But there now opened upon him, most temptingly, a new field for royal aggression. In seizing by force the whole province of Ulster, and, for no cause but the suspected treason of two or three popular lords, giving up to rapine, confiscation, and ultimately ruin, all the rest of the population, James might seem to have indulged sufficiently his taste for meddling misrule. But a new course of plantation and plunder still awaited him. Having succeeded so well in the north, he now, with the view of extending his scheme to other parts of the kingdom, caused an inquiry into defective titles to be instituted in all the other provinces; in consequence of which an alarm for the safety of their possessions became general among all ranks of his subjects. In pursuance, however, of the royal scheme; a commission of inquiry was forthwith appointed to examine and make their report respecting the escheated lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts; and they accordingly adjudged all the lands between the rivers of Arklow and that of Slane, as well as

in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's County, to be forfeited to the crown. The whole of this territory, therefore, amounting to 82,500 acres, was by the king portioned out to English settlers, and likewise natives, upon the same principles, and according to the same plans, by which he had regulated the plantation in Ulster.

The cause of the confusion prevailing in Ireland respecting the titles to landed estates, may be traced up to the earliest times of English dominion, when the grants made to the first adventurers began to pass into other hands, and such confusion generally ensued, that titles were lost, recovered, and lost again, in the constant turns and changes of fortune to which the whole country was then subjected. The resumption under Henry VII. of all grants made by the crown since the first year of Edward I., as well as of all lands granted to absentees, thereby vesting them again in the crown, impeached almost every grant antecedent to that period; and these and several other such legal discoveries, now brought forward, spread alarm for the safety of their property throughout all ranks and classes. Accordingly, a sedulous inquiry into defective titles began to be instituted in every direction; as well by those who saw reason to tremble for their own possessions, as by that swarm of needy adventurers, who, under the specious name of discoverers, were everywhere busied in "finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates." The law, too, ever ready to come to the aid of injustice, took its share in the scramble, and in cases of disputed lands, such jurors as refused to find a title in the king, were committed to prison, and afterwards censured in the castle chamber.

In order to reconcile them to this legal robbery, they were reminded by the king's attorney-general, that when the English Pale was first planted the natives were so wholly expelled, that "not one Irish family had so much as an acre of freehold in all the five counties."

But the wrong that now appeared to them most cruel was that of transplanting them far away from the place of their birth. In this manner seven septs were removed from the Queen's County to Kerry, and forbidden to return under pain of martial law; while, about the same time, twenty-five proprietors, most of them O'Ferrals, were dispossessed of all they had in the world, and no compensation whatever allowed to them. But the most strange as well as most violent of all those acts of oppression was the treatment of the Byrnes of Wicklow;—a case too voluminous in its details to be here narrated, but of which the historian ⁽¹⁾ who puts it on record truly observes, that “it exposes such a scene of iniquity and cruelty as is scarce to be paralleled in the history of any age or any country.”

From a people whose governors set them such odious examples, no good results, political or moral, could be expected; and, doubtless, the state of affairs he witnessed in Ireland formed one of those numerous sources of danger in England, upon which Beaumont, the French ambassador to James, thus speculates in writing to his court: “I discover,” he says, “so many seeds of disease in England, so much is brooding in silence, and so many events seem inevitable, that I am inclined to affirm that for a century from this time this kingdom will hardly abuse its prosperity, except to its own ruin.”

(1) Carte.

CHAPTER LIII.

CHARLES I.

Effects, in the beginning of this reign, of the prodigality of James.—Expedients for raising supplies.—Contract between the king and the catholic lords and gentlemen.—Graces.—Parliament summoned.—Frustrated for want of form.—Alarm of the protestant clergy.—Lords—justices appointed.—“The great earl of Cork.”—Acts of oppression.—Wentworth earl of Strafford.—His early politics.—Subsequent violent proceedings.—Council of the North. Sentence on Sir David Fowles.—Haughty demeanour of Wentworth, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland.—Voluntary aids.—Ireland governed as a conquered country.—Predilection of the Irish for parliaments.—The king’s antipathy to them.—Subterfuge for getting rid of the “graces.”—Constitution of the parliament.—Grant of subsidies.—Redress of grievances urged by the lords.—The protestant church.—Wentworth’s collision with the clergy.—Statutes of Wills and Uses.—The lord-lieutenant and “the great earl of Cork.”—Failure of the king’s claim to the plantation of Connaught.—His claim in Roscommon acknowledged.—Opposition of Galway.—Death of the earl of Clanricarde. Submission of Connaught.—Severity of Strafford.—His cruelty towards lord Mountnorris.—Letter of lady Mountnorris.—Review of Strafford’s administration in Ireland.—Woollen and linen manufactures.—Strafford’s eagerness after honours.—The king’s coolness towards him.—The Scottish war.—Opening of parliament.—Liberal grant of subsidies.—Additions to the army.—Objections of the parliament to the subsidies.—Statement of grievances.—Strafford assumes the command against the Scots.—Positions of the armies.—General engagement.—Rout of the English forces.—Gathering storm around Strafford.—Opening of the long parliament.—Strafford’s apprehensions.—Proceedings of parliament against him.—Motion for his impeachment.—Scene in the house of lords.—Charges brought against him.—Remarks on his fate:

The reign of James, though long and peaceful, and in many respects prosperous, bore in it the seeds of most of those evils which broke out in such rank profusion during the succeeding reign; and among the evils thus entailed on his immediate successor, none was attended with effects more ruinous to the interests and dignity of royalty than the low state to which, through his reckless prodigality, the patrimony of the English crown had been reduced. The consequence was, that he bequeathed to his successor personal debts amounting to 700,000*l.*; and how scanty were the present monarch’s resources became but too manifest to his subjects both from the embar-

rassments in which they had seen him involved, and his frequent recourse to the illegal expedient of raising money without the consent of parliament. He had even been compelled, by the pressure of his immediate wants, to commit a great part of his plate and jewels to the duke of Brunswick, by whom it was carried to the Hague, and there placed in pawn.

Under a pressure still more urgent, he now looked anxiously to the Irish people, who, hoping to win from the king's necessities what they had long ceased to expect from his justice, had proffered a large sum of money for the pay and maintenance of his army; and, in return for this timely aid, certain privileges, or rather exemptions from wrong and oppression, were to be accorded to them by the state. A solemn contract was accordingly entered into between Charles and the Catholic lords and gentlemen. A number of articles were formally agreed upon, by which the redress of certain grievances was guaranteed to the Catholics, and they, in return, agreed to contribute to the wants of the crown a sum of 120,000*l.*, to be paid in three instalments or subsidies, in three successive years.

The concessions, or, as they were styled, graces, which, in return for this loyal aid, the monarch pledged himself to grant, were, in number, fifty-one; but of these only the most important need be cited. By these graces it was provided "that recusants should be allowed to practise in the courts of law, and to sue the livery of their lands out of the Court of Wards, on taking an oath of civil allegiance in lieu of the oath of supremacy; that the undertakers in the several plantations should have time allowed them to fulfil the conditions of their leases; that the claims of the Crown should be confined to the last sixty years; that the inhabitants of Connaught should be permitted to make a new enrolment of their estates; and that a parliament should be holden to confirm these graces, and to establish every man in the undisturbed possession of his lands."

The other reforms relate to various descriptions of abuses; to exactions in the courts of justice, depredations committed by the soldiery, monopolies injurious to trade, and penal statutes on account of religion. From the 30th article we learn, that the evidence of convicted felons used then to be received against persons accused of crimes; and that the clergy of the established church kept prisons in which they confined those who were subject to ecclesiastical censures.

Superficial as were most of the rights which this charter promised, the people, proud of their spirited effort, and rejoiced to have been able to purchase even so small an instalment of freedom out of the hands of their haughty taskmasters, began to look with much anxiety to the monarch for the ratification of their compact. To effect this important object the sanction of parliament was requisite; and lord Falkland, the Irish deputy, summoned a meeting of that assembly for the purpose. But, by two acts passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it was ordained that no parliament should be held in Ireland without license obtained of his majesty under the great seal of England. With this formality Lord Falkland had not complied; and the consequence of his omission, which few believed to be quite unintentional, was, that the English privy council pronounced the summons illegal and void; and the monarch was, for the time, conveniently relieved from the embarrassment of being required to fulfil his engagement with the Irish. That a nobleman, to whose fine talents and generous character all the records of that time bear cordial testimony, should have stooped to lend his sanction to so mean an evasion, seems a weakness hardly credible.

In consequence of the voluntary act of the Irish Catholics in contributing so ample an aid to the wants of the state, a rumour was spread abroad, of extensive "indulgences" about to be granted in their favour. This report excited considerable alarm in archbishop

Usher and other great Protestant divines; and a synod was forthwith held in Christ Church, Dublin, by Downham bishop of Derry, at which eleven other bishops attended, and the following grave declaration was the result:—"That the religion of the papists is idolatrous, their faith and doctrine erroneous, and that to permit the free exercise of the Catholic worship would be a grievous sin, because it would make the government a party not only to the superstition, idolatry, and heresy of that worship, but also to the perdition of the seduced people who would perish in the deluge of Catholic apostacy; and that to grant such toleration for the sake of money to be contributed by the recusants, was to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ had redeemed with his blood."

By this and other such signs of increased rancour against the Catholics, lord Falkland saw, with much regret, that all the efforts he had made towards peace and mutual forbearance had been wholly fruitless. It was to him, therefore, no slight relief to be released from so hopeless a task; and, on his recall, the administration was committed temporarily to two lords-justices, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord high treasurer of Ireland. This latter nobleman was known generally by the distinction of "the great earl of Cork;" and among those English who have sought that country as a field of adventure, few have reaped there a richer harvest of wealth, influence, and power.

The first appearance of this lord in Ireland, in any public capacity, was as secretary to sir George Carew; and his good fortune in being selected to carry to England, in the year 1601, the news of the victory gained near Kinsale, over the Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries, was the first opening of that prosperous career in which he afterwards made such rapid progress. The zealous haste with which he conveyed to the English court the tidings of this great victory is thus described by himself;—"I left my

lord president at Shannon Castle, near Cork, on Monday morning, about two of the clock; and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with sir Robert Cecil, who was then principal secretary of state, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty in her bed-chamber."

Under the government of the lords-justices several acts of gross oppression, both on religious and temporal grounds, were perpetrated. In one instance, when these dignitaries were attending public service at Christ Church, intelligence reached them that a fraternity of Carmelites were then celebrating their religious rites in a part of Dublin called Cook-street. On learning this act of presumption the archbishop of the diocese and the chief magistrate of Dublin proceeded to that quarter, and entering the chapel at the head of a file of musketeers, seized the priest in his vestments at the altar, and carried away all the sacred vestments and ornaments. After the first alarm of this aggression had subsided, a number of the congregation went in pursuit of the assailants, and succeeded in rescuing their clergyman. On this incident becoming known to the English council, measures were taken for instantly punishing, not the offenders, but the friars. Sixteen religious houses were ordered to be seized to the king's use; and the new Carmelite college, being made the property of the university, was for the present converted into a Protestant seminary.

[A. D. 1633.] It was at this time that the viscount Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and best known by this title, commenced that career of unbridled power in Ireland, which forms an era in that country's history. He had received his commission early in the year 1632; but the task of arranging his private affairs, and likewise of placing in safe hands the care of his northern presidency, of which he still retained the government, employed con-

siderable time. Even when these various duties had been despatched, he was still delayed some months by unfavourable winds; and so much was the Irish Channel then infested with pirates, that he could not venture to pass over without the convoy of a man-of-war, which had for that purpose to go round from the Thames.

Before we enter any further on this extraordinary man's public career, a short review of his earlier days, and the line then taken by him in politics, may lend such insights into his real character as will account for much of his subsequent conduct. Brought early into parliament, he took, for some time, but little share in public affairs. But his line of politics was already declared, and this future scorner of the people's rights first presented himself to public notice as a staunch advocate of popular principles. The bent of his tastes, however, inclined him, at that time, to rural retirement, and so calm and domestic had been hitherto his tastes, that the king, when naming him sheriff, added, as his chief commendation, that he was "an honest gentleman." How unconscious, too, he was himself of those stirring and daring qualities which afterwards broke out in him, may be inferred from a thoughtful remark said to have been made by him, "that in such times it was much better to be a spectator than an actor."

But, as events became more exciting, his imagination gradually kindled; and then succeeded that memorable struggle between the commons and the crown, in which, growing bolder as the conflict advanced, he took part no longer as a mere follower, but as guide and leader; till at length was wrung from the vanquished court that great safeguard of the people's liberties, the Petition of Right, of which a high authority has pronounced that it "worked such a change in the government of England, as was almost equivalent to a revolution." (1) In all these movements of the popular party sir Thomas Wentworth

(1) Hume.

stood always foremost; and he had lately obtained much credit by strongly enforcing in the house of commons that sound constitutional principle, that "the redress of grievances should always precede the advance of supplies : — "I cannot," he said, "forget the duty I owe to my country; unless we be secured in our liberty, we cannot give."

But Wentworth's course, as a champion of the people, was then very near its close. While thus supporting, with apparent zeal, the popular cause, he was engaged in negotiating secretly with the court; and the rewards at length secured to him for the transfer of himself and his services to the government were an immediate place in the peerage, with the assurance of speedy promotion to a more exalted rank, and the important office of president of the council of the north. By this high post he was placed in a station peculiarly suited to his arbitrary tastes, as, owing to the enlarged instructions granted to him, this court now engrossed the entire jurisdiction of the four northern counties, and embraced likewise the powers of the courts of common law, the chancery, and even the enormous authority of the star-chamber. The commission under which this court was held had been granted by Henry VIII. to the archbishop of York, and the arbitrary spirit which had always marked its proceedings, was worthy alike of that headstrong monarch and its present haughty president. To what a pitch its encroaching spirit had now extended may be judged from the language of Clarendon, who remarks that, "by the natural inclination of all courts to enlarge their own powers and jurisdiction, the court of York had so prodigiously broken down the banks of the first channel in which it ran, as had almost overwhelmed the country under the sea of arbitrary power, and involved the people, in a labyrinth of distemper, oppression, and poverty."

Such incentives to the abuse of power were of course not lost on the new convert to despotism; and some of the violent acts committed by him at this time, show

what a proficient in absolute rule he had already become. As a sample, indeed, of the sort of treatment that awaited Ireland from such hands, there needs no stronger instance than the sentence passed by his orders on sir David Fowlis; the whole extent of whose alleged offences were, that he had spoken disrespectfully of the council; had indulged in invidious remarks upon the president, and had encouraged some persons not to pay the new composition for knighthood, being of opinion that it was an illegal and oppressive exaction. For these transgressions sir David was prosecuted in the star-chamber, was degraded from his offices of deputy-lieutenant, justice of the peace, and member of the council of York; was fined five thousand pounds to the king, three thousand to Wentworth himself, and committed to the Fleet prison during his majesty's pleasure. His son, too, who had shared in the offence, was likewise imprisoned and fined five hundred pounds to the king. (1)

In taking possession of his new office, on arriving in Dublin, Wentworth produced, by the cold haughtiness of his manners, an impression by no means favourable. It appears that, in summoning the members of his council, he named only a select number, as if intending to consult with a committee rather than with the general body; and thus giving offence to all those who thought

(1) The open and shameless manner in which he prejudged this cause, and solicited his fellow counsellors to join in his vengeful feelings, show how totally self-will had blinded him to every other consideration than that of working out his own great object of self-aggrandizement and wholly unfettered power. To lord Cottington, who was to sit in judgment on the case, he had the audacity thus to write:—"You are like to begin the sentence, and I will be hold to tell you my opinion thereupon. You have been pleased sometimes, as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us. Admit me, now, to do it upon my own cause; for, by my truth, I will do it as though it concerned me not. First, I desire you to remember how Greenfield was fined for calling my lord Suffolk only 'base lord;' how a jury gave three thousand pounds damages to my lord Saye for the same words; and then balance the slander most ignominiously put upon me by sir David and his son, and let me not be less than other men, when I conceive that I merit to be more regarded than they." The result proved that he had not miscalculated in thus canvassing the seat of justice.

themselves purposely excluded. Nor does he appear to have much atoned for this proud slight by the solemn reverence which he made to the Chair of State, in passing through the presence chamber. All was, indeed, characteristic of the man,—as well his bow to the chair of state, as his rude treatment of the members of the council.

Another instance of his insulting demeanor occurred about the same time; and the offence which it gave to the Catholics was long and angrily remembered. Some intention of holding a parliament having been rumoured soon after his arrival, the earl of Fingal, a great Catholic nobleman, deemed it his duty to represent to him, that it had always been the custom for the lords of the Pale “to be consulted concerning the parliament and the matters to be therein propounded.” To this suggestion Wentworth answered, with his usual arrogance, that “assuredly his majesty would reject with scorn all such foreign instructors; that the king’s own councils were sufficient to govern his own affairs, without borrowing from any private man whatsoever.” The Irish lord, “a little out of countenance,” as Strafford describes him, replied that he “only wished to put him in mind of what formerly had been the custom, and that in like case my lord of Falkland had called their lordships of the Pale.” “My answer was,” says Strafford, “that my lord of Falkland should be no rule in this case for me,—much less for my great master.” He then concluded by haughtily advising the Irish earl “not to busy himself with matters of this nature.”⁽¹⁾

The first object of great importance that claimed the attention of the new lord-deputy was the renewal of the voluntary aids supplied by the Irish, whose contribution was now nearly brought to a close. To defray the enormous cost of the large army maintained in Ireland some prompt and decisive measures were urgently necessary;

(1) Strafford Papers.

and the lords-justices at first proposed that the fine on recusants for absence from church on Sundays—a tax as odious as it was productive—should be immediately put in force. But to this Wentworth strongly objected; and declared that, considering the inequality of the numbers and the ill-provided state of the army, he thought, for the present, it was “much more safe to take the contribution against the will of the protestant than the Sunday levy against the liking of the recusant.”

But while, in private, he thus cautiously calculated the difficulties he had to encounter, far different was the language held by him in some of his public displays, when threatening, in the king’s name, to “straiten the graces which had been granted,” he added, that “rather than fail in a duty so necessary to his royal master, he would undertake, at the peril of his head, to enable the king’s army to subsist and provide for itself amongst them without their help.” This menace had its full effect; and he took care to procure from the protestants a written promise that they would be ready to furnish the next year’s contribution, as it had, that year, proceeded from the catholics.

At length, by alternate threats and promises, he so far succeeded in gaining his purpose, that all parties agreed to enlarge their voluntary contribution by four additional quarterly payments of five thousand pounds each; and he was thus left, without any further delay, to pursue his plans for securing a permanent revenue.

That Ireland was a conquered country in the strictest sense of the word, and ought as such to be treated and governed,—that the power of the crown in that realm was absolute, and should be exercised only through the lord-deputy,—such were the principles on which, supported by his royal master, he now undauntedly undertook to wield the government of Ireland. “The benefit of the crown,” said he, in writing, at this time, to Charles, “must and shall be my principal, nay, my sole end.” In this abandonment of himself wholly and unre-

servedly to the monarch; we see at once the utter recklessness of the renegade, and that rash confidence in his own strength which led ultimately to his ruin.

Well aware of the watchful jealousy with which all his movements were tracked, and apprehensive lest some of the many whom his power had wronged or mortified should hasten to England and lay their complaints before the throne, he took the precaution of obtaining an order from the king, that none of the nobility or principal officers employed in Ireland should leave that kingdom without receiving a special license from the lord-deputy. With similar views he procured an order that no particular complaint of tyranny or injustice against any person in Ireland should be admitted at the English court, unless it appeared that the party aggrieved had first addressed himself to the lord-deputy. Still more largely to let him loose from all restraint, an addition was made to his ample instructions, leaving him free to consider them changeable on the spot whenever the advancement of his majesty's affairs rendered it expedient.

In all conjunctures of public difficulty or distress the favourite resource of the Irish people had been always a parliament: not that it brought with it ever atonement for the past, but it sometimes seemed to open a vista of hope to the future; and such was the feeling with which, at this juncture, the speedy meeting of that assembly was expected. The provision that had been made for the maintenance of the army was still but temporary and precarious; and apprehensions began to be felt by the people in general, that these quarterly payments, which had now been continued for almost ten years, might turn at length to an hereditary tax on their estates. To meet the demands of the state, considerable aids were urgently wanted; and these could only be adequately supplied by the representatives of the people in parliament. But, in addition to the king's hatred of the very name of parliament,—“that Hydra,” as he himself styles it in one of his letters,—strong apprehensions were felt

by the court, that pressing demands would now be made for the confirmation of the expected graces; more especially of that for limiting to sixty years the title of the Crown, by which alone the royal revenue would be diminished to the extent of 20,000*l.* a-year.

To get rid, therefore, of this burdensome pledge, and with as little regard to good faith as their recorded compact would admit, was now the first and most trying difficulty of the king's advisers. We have seen that during lord Falkland's administration, there occurred a technical informality in the writs for summoning parliament, which furnished a pretext far more dexterous than it was honourable for delaying the expected graces. But the sword of state had now passed into hands which were even still less restrained by conscientious scruples; and Wentworth at once undertook, by his mode of managing the parliament, to get rid of these troublesome graces altogether. His plan was to divide the parliament into two distinct sessions; the first to be devoted exclusively to the supplies, while the second, which might be held six months after, was to be occupied with the grant of the graces, and other such national benefits. In all this, his manifest object was to secure at first, from the parliament, such prompt and ample supplies as might render the crown independent of it for two or three years; and thus enable him to dispose of the graces, according to his own will and pleasure. It ought to be kept in remembrance, that the chief adviser of this mean subterfuge was the same man who, in his days of patriotism, impressed so eloquently on his constituents, that "the redress of grievances should ever precede the grant of supplies."

To compose his parliament of such apt materials as might at will be shaped and shifted to his purposes, was, of course, the main object of the lord-deputy; and the sort of instruments he took care to provide, on the present occasion, are thus intelligibly described by him. "I laboured," he says, "to get as many captains and of-

ficers chosen burgesses as I possibly could; who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, might sway the business between the two parties." But the part of his management on which he most prided himself is thus fully laid open by him:—"I shall endeavour," he says, "that the lower house may be so composed, as that neither the recusants, nor yet the protestants, shall appear predominant; for, being thus held as much as may be on an equal balance, they will prove much easier to govern than if either party were absolute." He could then, as he adds, privately warn the recusants, that if no other provision were made for the maintenance of the army, it would become necessary to exact from them the Sunday fine; while the protestants might in like manner be warned, that until a regular revenue should be established, his majesty could not let go the voluntary contribution, or discontent the recusants by enforcing the penal statutes. He had hopes, too, of being enabled to convince both parties that the quarterly payments were not so burdensome as they pretended, and that already they had obtained by the graces more than the worth of the money they had paid. In this manner were some of the most sacred rights of the subject, as well spiritual as civil, made a matter of mere bargain and barter.

[A. D. 1634.] The session was opened, as Strafford himself proudly records, "with the greatest pomp and splendour that Ireland had ever seen;" and, in a speech to the two houses, he told them haughtily that, when he demanded of them supplies, he only required them to provide for their own safety; and therefore expected that their contributions would be both liberal and permanent; "for," said he, "it is far below the dignity of my master to come, at every year's end, with his hat in his hand, to entreat that you would be pleased to preserve yourselves." Whatever design there might have been of opposing the government, no such feeling was allowed to disturb the course of the proceedings; and the house of commons, with one voice, voted unconditionally the

extraordinary grant of six subsidies. Supplies so liberal, and coming from a parliament which had never before granted a subsidy, held forth an example to the clergy; which, notwithstanding their strong leaning towards puritanism, was followed by them readily; and the convocation, then having its sittings along with the parliament, granted eight subsidies of 3000*l.* each.

While the commons, subservient wholly to the lord-deputy, (1) were acting by turns the parts of sycophants and tyrants, the house of lords, far more worthily employed, proceeded to press the redress of grievances upon the government, and called loudly for the confirmation of the promised graces, more especially of that important article which limited the king's claim upon their lands to a retrospect of sixty years. But ample supplies having been now secured, far different was Wentworth's tone respecting this long due justice. Taking boldly upon himself the responsibility of the whole transaction, he declared solemnly that he had never transmitted those articles of the graces to his majesty; and thus assumed to himself all the odium of that base fraud, of which the Irish had been made unscrupulously the victims. Of Charles's concert in this fraudulent scheme, the following letter leaves no doubt:—

“Wentworth: Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me.

CHARLES R.”

Among the many important objects to which Strafford applied the energies of his ever active mind, the state of the

(1) So much was this parliament to Wentworth's taste, that he wished to prolong it by prorogation. “It can do no harm,” he said, “considering that it can exercise no power during its prorogation, and may at any time be blown over with the least breath from his majesty.”

Protestant church in Ireland, and the ecclesiastical rights of its clergy, was one of those to which he most earnestly gave his attention; and the main point which he sought to effect by his labours was a perfect conformity between the church of Ireland and that of England in point of doctrine. We have seen how unsuccessful were the efforts made by Usher to provide Ireland with a public confession of faith; and it was with the view of relieving the church of that kingdom from the strange medley mixture of foreign doctrines with which he had encumbered it, that a select committee had now been appointed by the lower house of convocation, with instructions to take into consideration the canons of the church of England.

The lord-deputy, being in the mean time occupied with watching the restive recusants in the house of commons, had left this committee to pursue their task uninterrupted, reposing full trust in the lord primate Usher, who, during this interval, had not spoken to him a single word upon the subject. When relieved, however, from his watch over the recusants, Wentworth again applied his attention to the labours of the select committee, and found, to his consternation, that, without conferring at all with their bishops, they had gone through the book of canons, and noting in the margin such as were to be allowed, and leaving others for future consideration, had introduced among them the obnoxious Irish articles, adding that they were "to be allowed and received, under pain of excommunication."

Enraged at this clandestine proceeding, he sent for dean Andrews, who had sate in the chair of the committee, requiring him to bring with him the book of canons, so marked, and likewise the draught that was to be presented by him that afternoon to the house. "But when I came," says Wentworth, "to open the book, and ran over their deliberandums in the margin, I confess I was not so moved since I came into Ireland. I told him that certainly not a dean of Limerick, but Ananias, had

sate in the chair of that committee;—Ananias himself had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam, and that I was ashamed and scandalised with it beyond measure.”

Wentworth gave orders, therefore, for, an immediate meeting, to which he summoned, besides the primate, the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe, and Derry, together with dean Lesly, the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the select committee. “Then I publicly told them,” he says, “how unlike clergymen that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in the committee; how unheard-of a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of state or of bishop. But those heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure; nor, if they were disposed to be frantic, in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them to be mad, either in convocation or in their pulpits. First, then, I required of dean Andrews, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the committee to the house. Secondly, I enjoined dean Lesly, their prolocutor, that in case any of that committee should propound any question therein, yet he should not put it, but break up the sitting for the time, and acquaint me with all. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all touching the receiving, or not, of the articles of the Church of England. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving of the articles, wherein he was, by name and writing, to take their votes barely “content,” or “not content,” without admitting any other discourse at all; for I would not endure that the articles of England should be disputed. And, finally, because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it; and, after I had perused it, I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon, to be inclosed in a letter of my own.

"This meeting," he adds, "thus broke off; there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod. But, in fine, they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished."

After enforcing by a few more such arguments his own view of the matter, Wentworth concludes by saying, "This being the true relation of the whole, I am not ignorant that my stirring herein will be strangely reported and censured on that side; and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Penns, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows." ⁽¹⁾

It was in this letter to Laud that, triumphing at the success of all his measures, he added, "I may now say, the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be."

Notwithstanding the lively protest of the lord-deputy, the articles of Usher, chiefly in consequence of the general reverence felt for his character, were retained by the Irish church; and the canon enjoining them is the first of the hundred then passed in convocation and approved by the king.

Among other important measures passed by this parliament were the two statutes of Wills and Uses, which, of all the various modes devised at different times for supplanting, and, it was hoped, extirpating, the catholic faith in Ireland, were considered to be the most effective. They gave to the crown a share and interest in the education of the heirs apparent of most of the great families in the kingdom; ⁽²⁾ and, among the various expedients resorted to for the extinction of the ancient faith, the

⁽¹⁾ Letter from Wentworth to the archbishop of Canterbury.

⁽²⁾ "Whereby," says Cox, "they will be bred Protestants; and of what consequence this superintendency is, doth in part appear in the person of the earl of Ormohd (formerly the king's ward), who, if bred under the wing of his own parents, had been of the same affections and religion with his other brothers and sisters, whereas he is now a firm Protestant."

power thus given over the rising generation was calculated upon with the greatest certainty.

One of the avowed designs of Wentworth, in going to Ireland, was to break down the power of the great Irish lords; and the earl of Cork being of all the most powerful, against him this feeling of duty was further impelled and whetted by envy. From his first coming, he had conceived a jealousy of this potent earl, and resolved, as he said, "to bring him down;" adding, half-jestingly, that if he could humble "the great earl of Cork," he had nothing to fear from any one else in Ireland. "Nor was it long ere he found an opportunity of gratifying this arrogant wish. With that leaning towards the old forms and ceremonies of catholic worship ⁽¹⁾, of which the king had set an example, and which, in common with his friend Laud; the lord-deputy had also indulged in, he had caused the old communion table, or, as it was again called, the Great Altar, to be restored to its former station and name, in the chapel of Dublin castle; and being desirous of a similar change in the church of St. Patrick, he now ordered a splendid family monument, which the earl of Cork had lately erected there, to be immediately removed. Against this summary act of power, lord Cork tried remonstrance, and even resistance; but both equally in vain; and this difference long continued a source of rancour between the two parties.

In the reign, as we have seen, of James, some steps were taken by that monarch towards establishing, in the province of Connaught, a plantation similar to that of Ulster. But by his death this unpopular scheme was interrupted; and the sanction so solemnly given by the

(1) In the King's chapel, at this time, a large crucifix, embroidered with gold and silver, was hung up over the altar, to which, as Prynne informs us, the chaplains were required to bow; and Laud himself set them the example. Among those symptoms of a leaning towards popery, which Wentworth is said to have manifested in Ireland, one was the friendship which he formed while there, with Father Mathew, a "Jesuited priest," whom he afterwards brought with him to England. Wentworth himself was long traditionally remembered by the Irish, under the title of "Black Tom."

crown to that article of the royal graces, by which it was stipulated that the title of the landowners in Connaught should be recognised as valid, gave every assurance of the perfect safety of their estates that the forms of law and the word of a monarch, so solemnly pledged, could bestow. Wentworth himself, with all his audacity, appears to have shrunk at first from the odium of attempting even a pretext for such bold and barefaced injustice. "How to make," he says, "his majesty's title to these plantations of Connaught and Ormond, is of all the rest (considering they have already been attempted and failed), the greatest difficulty." In another letter, addressed to the king, he complains that these plantations are still far off; for, as yet, he has not been able to discover any title to either of them.

[A. D. 1635.] Meanwhile, he commenced his predatory work with the county of Roscommon, where, addressing the grand jury, he descanted on the honour and equity of his royal master, and the benevolence of his views towards his good subjects of Connaught. He had summoned all the most respectable of the inhabitants, "being resolved," he says, "to have persons of such means as might answer the king a round fine in the castle chamber, in case they should prevaricate." In addressing the jury, he assured them that the principal motive of his majesty, in thus looking into his undoubted title, was, "the princely desires he had, to make them a rich and civilised people, which could not by any so sure and ready means be attained as by a plantation." "With this I left them," he says, "marvellous much satisfied; for a few good words please them more than you can imagine."

By the people of Roscommon the king's title was found without any difficulty, and no less readiness was shown to surrender the counties of Sligo and Mayo; an assurance having been given to them by proclamation that they should be permitted to purchase indefeasible titles by an easy composition. The prompt facility with

which these surrenders were obtained is fully accounted for in a letter to the king, by Wentworth himself, from which it appears, that the judges were bribed, and the juries all packed:—"Your majesty," he says, "was graciously pleased, upon my humble advice, to bestow four shillings in the pound upon your lord chief justice and lord chief baron in this kingdom, out of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles, which, upon observation, I find to be the best given money that ever was; for now they attend to it with a care and diligence, such as it were their own privates; and most certain the gaining to themselves every four shillings, once paid, shall better your revenue for ever after at least five pounds."

There remained, now, Galway, where the earl of Clanricarde was the chief landed proprietor, as well as hereditary governor, and where a reception by no means so complaisant awaited the lord-deputy. "There is much muttering," he says, "that we shall meet with opposition in the county of Galway, as if the earl of Clanricarde, or at least his servants, were very averse from the plantation. Whether it be so or not, I know not; but I could wish that county would stand out, for I am well assured it shall turn to his majesty's advantage, if they do." The event proved as Wentworth had anticipated, and the rejection of the claims of the crown by the Galway jury opened a field for spoliation as rich and ample as he could desire. With the view, too, as was his custom, of adding insolence to injustice, he took possession of the earl's house at Portumna, and held in his lordship's own halls the court which impeached his title to his estates.

It is right to remark, however, that cruel and dishonest as were these inquisitions into landed property, they had been formerly even more iniquitous in their modes of proceeding; for when Wentworth was now granting leave to the natives to be heard by counsel in defence of their respective rights, he assured them that

such an indulgence "had never before been granted to any one taking this sort of inquisitions."

In the meanwhile, the nobility and gentry of Galway had sent agents to plead their cause at the English court. But Wentworth, who kept strict watch on all their proceedings, wrote to entreat of the king to send them all back as prisoners—in order that he might proceed against them in the castle chamber, and fine them, for having dared to appeal to the monarch against his deputy. Nor did he fail to wreak his vengeance upon those lawyers who had manfully done their duty in defending the causes of their clients. Against these he came armed with that doubled-edged test, the oath of supremacy; an oath which to take was deemed a renouncement of their creed, while to refuse it wholly disqualified them for their profession.

At length, the oppressed landowners of Connaught, apprehensive lest, in this struggle for common justice and the preservation of their estates, they might be despoiled of the whole ⁽¹⁾, resolved to surrender them into the hands of the king, and thus throw themselves on his mercy. In this appeal they were powerfully seconded by lord Clanricarde, whom they had employed to act as their mediator with the lord-deputy, and who addressed to him an earnest and impressive letter, entreating that he would accept their submission. But the object of his relentless spirit was not merely to humble, but to debase them. He insisted, therefore, that the jurors should acknowledge that they had given a false verdict, and thus record themselves guilty of perjury. But to this insulting proposition lord Clanricarde-becomingly answered, that, "assuredly so many persons of their quality would never acknowledge a willful opposition or perjury."

(1) That Wentworth was resolved to gain his object appears from his own open avowal:—"Nay, in case there be no title to be made good to these countries for the crown, yet should I not despair, forth of reason of state and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by immediate act of parliament."—*Strafford Papers*.

Enraged to find himself thus thwarted, Wentworth resolved to make an example that should not be easily forgotten, of this, the first resolute opposition which he had encountered. By his own authority, he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff, and, citing the jurors into the castle chamber, that stronghold of his power, fined them four thousand pounds each. They were also to be imprisoned until these fines were paid, and to acknowledge their offence, in court, upon their knees.

The death of the earl of Clanricarde, which took place about this time, was generally attributed—as were, indeed, most misfortunes at that period—to the malign influence of Wentworth; and he himself, in one of his letters, alludes scoffingly to this notion. “It is reported,” he says, “that my hard usage broke his heart; God and your majesty knows my innocency. They might as well have imputed unto me, for a crime, his being threescore and ten years old.” But, however guiltless he might have been of Clanricarde’s death, the fate of the poor sheriff of Galway, whom he had cast into prison, and who died within its walls, was no less slightly regarded by him. “They will, I suppose,” he says, “lay upon me the charge of Danny’s, the sheriff’s, death.”

But, secure of the king’s favour, and emboldened by the fortunate issue of all his measures, Wentworth proceeded, unchecked and fearless, in that course of presumptuous success which, as he boasted, threatened to bring upon him the blade of a Felton or a Ravallac; and to such a degree had ill-temper disturbed in him all that power of self-command which is indispensable to those entrusted with the command of others, that, on some occasion; at the council-table, when a difference of opinion arose between him and the earl of Holland, he exclaimed, in a fury, to that lord, that the king “would do well to cut off his head.”

Of his unjust, and often preposterous, severity, a strik-

ing instance is related by himself, in reporting the proceedings of the commissioners of plantations in Galway. During the interrogation of one of the jury, Richard Bonrk of Derrimachloglin, another of the jury, pulled him by the sleeve; and for this one simple act, the lord-deputy, taking upon him to interpret what it meant, fined the juror who had pulled the sleeve five hundred pounds.

But of all those acts of cruelty, combined with insult, of which he was guilty, his inhuman treatment of lord Mountnorris for a few vague and unmeaning words said casually in conversation, was that which drew upon him most general and deserved reprobation. The circumstances in which this long-continued persecution had its origin will be most clearly, as well as characteristically, conveyed to the reader in the following extract from the judgment of the court-martial held on Mountnorris, which was pronounced by Strafford himself:—

“We, the lord-deputy, called a council of war, who being this day assembled, we, the lord-deputy, in the presence of the said lord Mountnorris; did charge him with this offence, that within three or four days, or thereabouts, after the end of the parliament, it being mentioned at the lord chancellor’s table that after we, the lord-deputy, had dissolved the parliament, being sitting down in the presence chamber, one of our servants, in moving a stool, happened to hurt our foot, then indisposed through an accession of the gout; that one, then present at the lord chancellor’s table, then said to the lord Mountnorris, being there likewise, that it was Annesley, his lordship’s kinsman, and one of the lord-deputy’s gentlemen ushers, that had done it. Whereupon, the lord Mountnorris then, publicly and in a scornful contemptuous manner, answered, ‘Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which my lord-deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother that would not take such a revenge.’” The affront, or disgrace, here said to have been offered to Mountnorris is thus explained by the lord-deputy: “That which was

pretended by the lord Mountnorris to have been the said disgrace or affront to his kinsman was this; that his said kinsman being one of the horse troop commanded by us, the lord-deputy, in the time of exercising the said troop was out of order on horseback, to the disturbance of the rest then in exercising, for which we, the lord-deputy, in a mild manner reproving him, as soon as we turned aside from him, we observed him to laugh and jeer us for our just reproof of him, which we disliking returned to him, and laying a small cane which we then carried on his shoulder, yet without any blow or stroke then given him therewith, told him that if he did serve us so any more, we would lay him over the pate." The court-martial conceived that these words, "But he has a brother that would not take such a revenge," contained an incitement to vengeance. On this ground he was found guilty, and the council unanimously adjudged him "to be imprisoned, to be from thenceforth deprived of all the places he held in the army, to be disarmed, to be banished, and lastly, to be shot to death, or to lose his head, at the pleasure of the general."⁽¹⁾

The following letter, addressed to Wentworth by lady Mountnorris, while still her husband lay under sentence of death, is worthy of a place in the page of history, both from the sad and touching circumstances under which it was written, and the pure and sweet English of its style.

"MY LORD,

"I beseech your lordship, for the tender mercy of God, take off your heavy hand from my dear lord, and for her sake who is with God, be pleased not to make me and my poor infants miserable as we must of necessity be by the hurt you do to him. God knows, my lord, that I am a poor, distressed woman, and knows not what to say more than to beg upon my knees, with my homely

(1) Extract from the judgment of the court-martial held on lord Mountnorris, December 12th, 1635.

prayers and tears, that it will please the Almighty to incline your lordship's heart to mildness towards him; for, if your lordship continue my lord in restraint, and lay disgraces upon him, I have too much cause to fear that your lordship will bring a speedy end to his life and troubles, and make me and all mine for ever miserable. Good my lord, pardon these weofullines of a disconsolate creature, and be pleased, for Christ Jesus' sake, to take this my humble suit into your favourable consideration, and to have mercy upon me and mine, and God will, I hope, reward it into the bosom of you and your sweet children by my kinswoman; and, for the memory of her, I beseech your lordship to compassionate the distressed condition of me, your lordship's most humble and disconsolate servant,

“JANE MOUNTNORRIS.”

The outrageous sentence on this lady's husband, which Wenworth himself pronounced in person, was not ultimately executed; but, by a refinement of cruelty, was held suspended over his head, and being, from time to time, threatened, was so contrived by his inhuman tormentors, as to make even hope but the means of prolonging despair. The following memoranda, kept by the sufferer himself, will show how indefatigable were those who kept watch to torment him:—“I was first committed the 12th of December; let go the 18th to my house; committed again the 11th of April; put out the 2d of May; I was then in great extremity, and admitted to my house again, where I lay in a long continuing sickness and under the hands of physicians. And the 30th of January afterwards, because I sued not out the pardon, was imprisoned again, and there continued till March, 1637.”⁽¹⁾

The avowed object of the lord-deputy in this harassing process, was to compel him to acknowledge his sen-

(1) “This cruel treatment of Mounthorris,” says Clarendon, “was looked on as a pure act of revenge, and gave all men warning how they trusted themselves in the territories where he commanded.”

tence to be just. But this he resolutely refused; and declared that "in his heart he abhorred and held it unjust." While such was generally the view taken of this barbarous sentence, so differently did Wentworth himself affect to regard it, that being present at the trial, he exclaimed before the whole audience that "the sentence was just and noble; and, for his part, he would not lose his share of the honour of it."

In taking a review of Wenworth's policy, as minister of the affairs of Ireland, it would be injustice not to yield the fullest approval to the great services rendered by him to that kingdom in all connected with its revenue, commerce, and manufactures. So successful were the plans adopted by him for the improvement of its fiscal resources, that, in the fifth year of his administration, the annual amount, we are told, of the revenue, bid fair to exceed the expenditure by sixty thousand pounds. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that one of the first and most signal services he rendered to the Irish was commenced by inflicting an injury upon them. As that country had always been renowned for its rich pastures, an abundance of wool, of a peculiarly good quality, formed a valuable branch of the staple of the kingdom. In order to discourage this trade of the natives, and thus benefit the British woollen manufacture, Strafford forbade that wool should be exported, even to England, without a license [A. D. 1636.]; and these licenses the lord-deputy was empowered to sell, which brought him, it appears, considerable emolument. As it would have been cruel, however, to deprive them of their own favourite manufacture without substituting for it some other, he formed the project of introducing among them the cultivation of flax, in order to direct their skill and industry to the manufacture of linen. Thus, by a rare result of such policy, England's jealousy of her dependent sister led to the extension towards her one of the best and most valuable sources of emolument that it had ever been her lot to enjoy. Looms were forthwith

erected; the crops of flax-seed perfectly succeeded; and the founder of the trade himself was at length rewarded for his industry by being enabled to ship for Spain, at his own hazard, the first investment of linen ever exported from Ireland.

One of the political maxims of Wentworth was, that the Irish ought to be rendered so wholly dependent upon the crown, as "to be unable to subsist without its good pleasure." This principle he had a good deal acted upon in his substitution of the linen for the woollen manufacture; and a monopoly which he now established carried still further his insolent system. To tastes so despotic as his, a precedent furnished by France could not fail to be welcome; and a gabelle, or royal monopoly of the sale of salt, was exactly the sort of import for his purpose (¹), not only as affording an ample revenue, but, likewise, as keeping down the natives in still more helpless subservience. Thus, between a gabelle on their salt and a prohibition against their woollen goods, they would be entirely at his majesty's mercy both for their food and clothes. It was in contemplating this signal result of his legislation, that he exclaimed triumphantly, "How shall they be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?"

As one of the motives that chiefly influenced him in deserting his own party and joining the ranks of the government, was the strong desire which long had possessed him of being raised to a rank in the peerage, so the attainment of another step in the scale of dignities was the great and crowning reward of all his services, to which he now, with a feeling of eagerness that amounted almost to passion, looked forward. Twice had he ventured to approach the royal presence with a humble petition for some public mark of favour which might refute the calumnies of his enemies, and prove

(1) "Salt," he says, in one of his letters, "is of so absolute necessity as it cannot stay upon his majesty's hand, but must be had, whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price."

that his majesty did not lend them any belief. But the cold refusal with which his prayer was always met struck dishearteningly even on his buoyant spirit, and was, indeed, but too sure a forewarning of that later and darker stage of his course when the memorable exclamation was wrung from him, "Put not your trust in princes." It was on one of these occasions when, humbly but earnestly, he was urging his petition to the king, that he found himself silenced by the following haughty rebuke: "Places and titles have truly the effect of rewards, only when conferred by the master without the servant's importunity; otherwise, men judge them to proceed rather from the servant's wit than the master's favour."

But, in Scotland, a state of affairs had now presented itself which opened to Wentworth a new field for his zealous efforts in the cause of royalty. The steady stand made by the Scots, in defence of their liberties and their kirk, was daily assuming, in spite of their caution, a more decisive aspect, and fast arousing in them that ardent zeal which, as Charles himself described it, was all the more formidable from "coming veiled under the pretence of religion." To meet the difficulties which this new crisis seemed to threaten, the king, notwithstanding his late ungracious treatment of Wentworth, wrote to summon that lord to his presence; saying laconically, "I think it not right to express by letter more than this,—the Scottish covenant spreads too far."

Thus called to the royal councils, and at a crisis so full of difficulties, Wentworth saw that the crowning reward of his shameless apostacy was near at hand. He had, at first, been rather averse to war with the Scots, saying, with a feeling too just and generous to be long retained by him, that "it was a tender point to draw blood from subjects, even when rebellious." But of these scruples he had now divested himself; and, being convinced, as he said, that his majesty had no longer any other alternative than either to forego entirely his sovereignty, or else reduce his stubborn subjects by

force, he gave his advice for immediate war with the Scots. This hasty resolve, to which the king as readily assented, Wentworth proceeded, with all his prompt and decisive energy, at once to act upon; and, as the difficulty of raising supplies continued, as usual, to thwart and palsy every movement of the executive, the long evaded resource of a parliament was, at length, reluctantly adopted; while, to meet immediate exigencies, a voluntary contribution was set on foot, in which the lord-deputy led the way, by subscribing, as his share, twenty thousand pounds. To a servant thus wholly devoted even so frigid a patron as Charles could not any longer remain unjust. He was accordingly created earl of Strafford and baron Raby, adorned with the title of lord lieutenant; a distinction which had not been conferred upon any deputy since Elizabeth had granted it to Robert earl of Essex.

[A. D. 1640.] In heaping upon him these honours, the king was but decorating a victim for other hands to sacrifice. Meanwhile his attainment of these high distinctions in nowise weakened his zeal and activity in his master's service; though so much shattered was his frame by constant attacks of gout, that he was frequently obliged to be borne in a litter; and, when he sailed this time for Dublin, to attend the opening of the Irish parliament, he was suddenly seized at Beaumaris by a severe fit of his malady. But although the wind continued adverse, and his sufferings still increased, he yet insisted upon being immediately removed on board, lest the pains should become so intense as to prevent his removal.

The spirit manifested by the Irish parliament was quite as loyal, liberal, and obsequious as even their lieutenant could himself have desired. Four entire subsidies, the sum required by the court, were unanimously voted; and several of the natives loudly declared that "six and even more were fit to be given." All seemed, indeed, to vie in the warmth and intensity of their loyal

feelings; some declaring that, "as his majesty was the best of kings, so his people should try to be ranked among the best of subjects; "while others, with that fondness for metaphor which seems innate in the Irish, and which has sometimes been assumed as one of the proofs of their eastern descent, declared that "their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty."

On the credit of the four subsidies, and the amount of the annual revenue, which had increased, under the management of Strafford (as we must now style him), to above 80,000*l.* per annum, he was enabled to raise 8000 foot and 1000 horse, in addition to the veteran forces. But this Irish army, being most of them catholics, and trained to the use of arms, became so offensive, says a staunch hater of papists, "to all moderate and thinking protestants, that it brought great disrepute and prejudice on the king's affairs; and, in the end, cost the lord lieutenant his head." Of this small army, another writer gives the following far more just and lively description:—"Towards the middle of that month, the Irish troops rendezvoused at Carrickfergus, under the command of sir William St. Leger, major-general of the army, who was much pleased with the figure they made; the delight and pride which they took in their arms; their willingness and aptness to learn their exercise; their fondness for the service; their mettle and gallant appearance, which was such as would recommend them to be chose for a service where a crown lay at stake."⁽¹⁾

When the two houses met again, in the month of June, the same good humour by no means prevailed in which they had parted two months before; and, as the absence, on their professional duty, of the military members of the house of commons, left a majority to the catholic party, they took advantage of this state of the house to bring forward two popular measures;—one for lessening the income of the clergy, and the other for reducing the

(¹) *Carle.*

amount of the subsidies lately granted to the crown. Feeling those grants to have been exorbitant and oppressive, they ventured to alter the mode of assessing three of the subsidies, declaring, at the same time, that, in consideration of his majesty's many and pressing occasions, the first of the four subsidies should be levied according to the instructions issued by the deputy; but adding, that neither these instructions, nor what was done in the late parliament (1634) respecting the subsidies then raised, should be any guide or precedent in levying the three other subsidies, which they had therefore ordered to be raised in "a moderate, equal, and parliamentary manner."

Their proceedings upon this question, as well as on that concerning the income of the Irish clergy, were marked by a freedom of will and purpose rarely witnessed in the Irish commons; and showed that the examples of public spirit which even already the English legislature had held forth were not unprofitably observed by them.

But so indignant was the monarch at being thus stinted in his expected supplies, that, in a burst of undignified rage, he ordered the leaf in which this resolution was inserted to be torn out of the journals; which order was accordingly executed by the lord-deputy. But the commons were not to be intimidated by this peevish outbreak of royalty. They had been lately much engaged in communication with those able men who wielded so skilfully the vast power of the popular party in England; and with whom, at this time, their bond of concert was hatred to Strafford himself, and deep disgust at those principles of government of which, for years, he had stood forth the daring and insolent champion. Encouraged by the aid and sympathy of such men, the Irish commons drew up a statement of the wrongs and grievances under which they had long laboured, and appointed a select committee to lay this remonstrance before his majesty. In this committee, which consisted of sixteen members, the

representatives of the upper house were lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costello, and Baltinglass.

As without a license no person could leave the kingdom, and such a permission was sure to be refused to the members of the commission, it was for some time a matter of doubt whether they could effect their object. The new lord-deputy, sir Christopher Wandesford, was Strafford's intimate friend, and was strongly suspected of having employed some secret agents to rase from the journal-book of the house of commons some instructions that had been agreed upon for a committee to impeach the earl. He had secretly endeavoured to hinder the Irish committee from going to England, and at length forbade them, on their allegiance, to leave the kingdom. But, notwithstanding this injunction, they all succeeded in getting away, and, sailing some of them from one port, some from another, arrived at length safely in England:

The Remonstrance of Grievances, of which they were the bearers, consists of sixteen articles, and commences by reminding his majesty that, until of late, the kingdom of Ireland was "in its growth a flourishing estate, whereby they had been enabled to comply with his majesty's princely and royal occasions, first, by their free gift of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; likewise by another free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds more during the government of the lord viscount Falkland; and, afterwards, by the gift of forty thousand pounds, and their free and cheerful gift of six entire subsidies, ⁽¹⁾ in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, which subsidies, in compliance with his then occasions, they allowed to amount, in the collections, unto two hundred and fifty thousand pounds."

After reminding him that in them, the catholic people, lay the main source and strength of his revenue, they

(1) The manner in which subsidies had been raised in Ireland was after the ancient custom of these taxes in England,—a certain sum imposed upon the ploughed lands. This, Strafford, by an exertion of power, abolished, and appointed commissioners to levy the subsidies out of lands and goods.

proceeded to enumerate some of the wrongs under which they laboured: the arbitrary decisions of causes and controversies before the chief governor; the perversion of law by the judges in order to gratify the court; the cruel punishments employed to repress the freedom of speech and writing; the extended powers of the High Court of Commission and other tyrannical tribunals; and the consequent want of all security for persons and property; the unusual and unlawful increase of monopolies; and the exorbitant fees and customs exacted by the clergy; these, with a number of other wrongs, already noticed in these pages, — such as the denial of the Royal Graces, and more especially of the Statute of Limitation, — were all impressively set forth in this remarkable Remonstrance, which afforded the first instance ever known of an application made from Ireland to a house of commons in England.

The Scottish army had now reached the borders of England, and were preparing to carry the war into that kingdom. The earl of Northumberland had been named chief commander of the English forces; but, being ill-affected to the cause, he declined the offer under the pretence of indisposition. The command then devolved on the earl of Strafford, who had been summoned over from Ireland for that purpose; and whom we now find at York, haranguing the gentry of that county, and exhorting them to attend his majesty, in case of invasion, at their own cost and charges. "It is little less," he added, "than high treason in any one to refuse it. I say it again, we are bound unto it by the common law of England, by the law of nature, and by the law of reason; and you are no better than beasts if you refuse in this case to attend his majesty offering in person to lead you on."

[A. D. 1640.] That very night the Scots had pitched their tents at Heddom Law, above Newbourn, (1) from

(1) Rushworth.

whence there sloped a continued descent to the river Tyne; and the same night part of the king's army, consisting of 3000 foot and 1500 horse, were drawn up on a level meadow ground, which extended a mile on the south side of the Tyne. In this position both horse and foot continued that night and the following day; the Scots all the forenoon watering their horse on one side of the river, and the English on the other, "without," says the relator, "affronting one another, or exchanging any reproachful language." The Scots, having the advantage of the rising ground above Newbourn, could easily discern the position and movements of the English force below in the valley. They accordingly brought down cannon into the town of Newbourn, and planted some in the church steeple a small distance from the river, while their musketeers were placed in the church, lanes, and hedges in and about Newbourn. In this position of the two armies, the slightest movement towards hostility was all that either required from the other to bring them fiercely into collision; and this was afforded by a slight incident which, in the midst of this watchful stillness, took place. A Scottish officer, well mounted, having a black feather in his hat, came out of one of the thatched houses in Newbourn, and watered his horse in the river, as both parties had done in the course of that day. An English soldier, who had been observing him, and perceived that he looked earnestly towards the English trenches, fired at him, — whether in earnest, or merely to frighten him, was not known; but the man was wounded and fell from his horse; whereupon, the Scottish musketeers fired upon the English, and a general battle immediately commenced.

Not to dwell further on events and personages which belong chiefly to English history, it need only be stated, that in this battle the officers who most distinguished themselves on the royal side, were the lord Wilmot, sir John Digby, a Roman catholic, and Daniel O'Neill, an Irishman, who jointly engaged the enemy, and had

a sharp encounter with their horse, being commanded to bring up the rear. The gates of Newcastle were then thrown open to the Scots, and the following day, being Sunday, fifteen lords, and Douglas, the sheriff of Gallo-way, came and dined with the mayor, drank a health to the king, and had three sermons, that day, from their own divines. (').

The routed army, meanwhile, fled in confusion; and the news of their defeat and flight reached Strafford the following day at Darlington, when on his road half-way to Newcastle, and proudly anticipating an easy victory over the scorned and rebellious Scots. This dream of his pride was now dissipated; and the result of his first military enterprise was the entire abandonment to their mercy of Newcastle and the whole counties of Northumberland and Durham.

Bold and fearless as was Strafford's nature, even he could hardly have witnessed, without some inward quailing, the general storm of hate and vengeance that now gathered from all quarters around him. The title of "incendiary," constantly coupled with his name, showed to what lengths of daring ambition he was thought capable of aspiring; nor, indeed, could any less dark estimate of his character account for the general hate and horror with which he was regarded. The Scots detested him as the intolerant foe of their creed and covenant; eight years of insulting despotism had drawn down on him the curse of the whole Irish people; and his own countrymen, when lately he marshalled them against the Scots, saw in their leader far more to fear and hate than in the enemy. Even after the Scots had begun to negotiate with the king, they refused to hold their conferences at York, because, as they said, it lay within the jurisdiction of their mortal enemy, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Towards the close of this year took place that impor-

(') Rushworth.

tant event, the opening of the Long Parliament, after the disuse of these assemblies for the space of eleven years: Their restoration had been long and eagerly looked for; and boons and benefits till now undreamed of were eagerly expected from their revival. "When the parliament shall sit," said lord Clanricarde, "then will come the day that shall pay for all;" and this was in general the feeling of confidence with which the parliament that met in November, 1640, was expected and welcomed. The important questions then at issue between the country and the court, lent to the occasion a deep and general interest; nor could those who were at all conscious of any delinquency towards the people hear unconcerned the solemn announcement made by the commons, that the three great subjects about to be submitted to parliament were, the investigation of abuses, the adoption of remedies, and the punishment of delinquents. Under this last head the whole country, by common consent, included that great state delinquent, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Strafford himself had long foreseen that the spirit of political freedom then abroad would, if not curbed and subdued, soon lay in the dust that towering structure of absolute power before which he bowed in worship; and that his own fall was sure to be involved in its ruin. To parliaments, as employed in Ireland, merely as channels through which to drain the subjects' wealth, he was disposed far more favourably than his royal master; and, when managed and marshalled under his commanding eye, they were instruments as apt and pliant as he could have desired. But the voice of the English people, as now put forth in their parliament, spoke to him a language far different, and brought with it omens of a day of reckoning which his subsequent fate but too fully confirmed. Throughout the whole, indeed, of his daring course, a sort of foreboding seems to have haunted him of the headlong fall to which it must ultimately lead. "At the peril of my head," were the words ever ready

on his tongue or pen, when any hazardous act of tyranny or spoliation was contemplated by him.

But the tide of his fortune was now rapidly ebbing. At York he had been cross-questioned and called to an account for the conduct of the army; he had totally failed in all he attempted and all he predicted against the Scots; while, in Ireland, the commons had torn out of their journals the eulogy they had formerly voted on his administration; and of all the army he had raised at such cost, in that country, not a single soldier was he able to bring into the field. To complete this combination of adverse circumstances, the English parliament was about to commence its criminatory course, and the king had summoned him to attend. Most earnestly did he entreat of his majesty to be allowed to absent himself, and either to retire to the army at York, or else remain at his post in Ireland, where, removed from the vigilance of parliament, he might contrive to elude its vengeance. But Charles refused even to listen to his entreaties; and with a confidence in his own power which proved fatal to the object of his protection, assured him, under his own hand, that "the parliament should not touch one hair of his head."

With a boding spirit Strafford proceeded to London, where the two houses had already assembled; and where all he witnessed and all he heard must have painfully convinced him that the dissolution of the late houses of parliament had but aggravated the national grievances, and aroused throughout the whole kingdom a more determined and defying spirit.

From this period the brief remainder of Strafford's course belongs properly to English history; and all the details of that stern process of justice by which he was ultimately brought to the scaffold, are known familiarly to most readers. The summary course pursued by the commons on being informed that he had taken his seat in the house of lords; the notice given by Pym of an intended motion in the commons, which he requested

might be heard and debated with closed doors; the formal grant of this request; and the entrance, shortly after, of a numerous deputation, who, with the mover of the important question at their head, proceeded to the house of lords, and there, in the name of the lower house, and of the commons of all England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required that his person should be immediately placed under arrest, — such, in brief, is the official account of the solemn opening of this great trial with which we are furnished by English historians. But to a writer who lived in that day, and appears to have personally witnessed the proceedings, we are indebted for a much more graphic report of the scene that followed on Pym's speech. "The lords," he says, "began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord-lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud gloomy countenance, makes toward his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner, till he was cleared of those crimes the house of commons charged him with. He offered to speak, but was ordered to be gone without a word." After a few more such details, the narrative thus proceeds: — "In the outer room James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries with a loud voice for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter; I warrant you.'

They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high-treason is a small matter.' Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach.' So he behoved to do."

Of the numerous charges brought against Strafford in the course of his trial, those connected with his conduct in Ireland, are all we are called upon here to notice. Besides those acts of oppression and cruelty already adverted to, he was accused of having publicly asserted that the Irish were a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased; likewise that the charters of the corporation of Dublin were mere discretionary grants from the crown. He was charged with acts of wanton tyranny against lord Mountnorris, lord Loftus, and other personages of rank. It was alleged that the earl of Cork having sued out a process for the recovery of his lands, from which he had been ousted by the accused and the council-table, Strafford threatened to imprison him for adopting this legal course, declaring that he would have neither law nor lawyers to question his orders. He had likewise, on another occasion, denied justice to this earl; and openly said, that he would have him and all Ireland know, that so long as he held the government there, any act of council already made, or which should be made thereafter, should not be less obligatory than an act of parliament. He was also accused of having delegated to the bishop of Down and Connor, and his several officers, powers enabling them to attach and imprison the poorer sort who refused obedience to their decrees; of having procured to himself a monopoly of tobacco, and then prohibited the importation of that commodity without a license under the most terrible penalties; of having prohibited the manufacturing of wool, and then insisted upon the natives spinning the flax in a particular manner, whereby he in a short

time got a monopoly in his own person, at an infinite expense to the inhabitants. In order to prevent the complaints of the injured from reaching the royal ear, he had obtained from the king an order that none should quit the limits of his government without a license from himself; and had fined and imprisoned all those who had dared to disobey his proclamation. It was further charged against him; that he had encouraged papists, and raised an army of 8000 men from that body; that, although he had advised a parliament, he assured his majesty that he would assist him in extraordinary ways, if it proved refractory, and had for that purpose confederated with sir George Ratcliff to bring over the Irish army. Finally, that he afterwards advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and declared to him that he was now absolved from all rules of government.

Besides these main charges, we find dispersed throughout the different articles of the impeachment a number of minor grounds of complaint, which, though put forward but incidentally, give even more strange and startling insights into the notion which Ireland's rulers must then have entertained of justice. One of the practices still retained in Strafford's time, and for which he pleaded precedent, was the custom of employing soldiers to collect the king's revenue, and execute other acts of power, which should be performed only by the civil magistrate; and this he proved to have been done familiarly in the times of all preceding deputies. In evidence of this fact, sir Arthur Tyringham, who was cited in Strafford's defence, deposed that, in lord Falkland's time, he knew of twenty soldiers being assessed upon one man for his having refused to pay sixteen shillings sterling. A similar line of defence was taken by him upon the subject of martial law; "It had been executed at all times in Ireland, and never so sparingly as in his; persons going up and down the country who could not give a good account of themselves, were hanged by the provost-marshal;" "I dare say," added Strafford, "there

are hundreds of examples of this kind." So far was he himself from perceiving the evils of such a practice, that, in his triumphant account to the king in the year 1635, of the success of his Irish administration, one of his boasts was that he had thus employed the soldiers; the army being, he said, "an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of the king's writs, and the great peace-maker between the British and the natives."

It was only in Ireland that a ruler like Strafford could have found so ready and open a field for the full indulgence of his domineering spirit. In no other country could such a scheme for the extinction of a whole people's liberties have been so boldly and undisguisedly attempted. The sphere of action was suited to the man, and he most aptly to the sphere. His own letters, indeed, are fully sufficient to convict him of a deep and deliberate design to enlist law as well as the sword on the side of absolute power, and, aided by both, to reduce the Irish to a state of prostrate submission.

To punish by death this treason to the people was an act perhaps of overstrained rigour. But the occasion was one that justified such a departure from ordinary precedents; and it has been well and justly observed, in defence of his judges, that they appear to have considered his case as one of those in which, for a moment, a veil may be drawn over liberty, as the Romans, on some occasions, hid the statues of their gods.⁽¹⁾ This stretch of severity, however, has had the effect of producing a reaction in favour of his memory; and, among the worshippers in "the high places" of power, Lord Strafford remains to this day a favourite idol.

Of all his merits, as a man and statesman, that which redounds most to his honour, was the wise and tolerant spirit by which, in all matters relating to religion, he was generally actuated. The sole exception to the praise

(1) On il faut mettre pour un moment un voile sur la Liberté comme l'on cache les statues des Dieux.—See an able and eloquent article in the Edinburgh Review, on Phillipp's State Trials.

due to him on this account, was the introduction, or rather the revival, by him, of the Court of High Commission, a court instituted in the time of Elizabeth, for the enforcement of religious belief by penal statutes. In the hands of Strafford, however, its enormous power was made subservient solely to fiscal purposes; and he could boast with just pride that, during his government in Ireland, "not the hair of a man's head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience." In a similar spirit, he wisely declared that fines to enforce conformity were "an engine rather to draw money out of men's pockets, than to raise a right belief in their hearts."

CHAPTER LIV.

CHARLES I — *continued.*

Secret plans of the Ulster rebels.—The earl of Antrim.—His official incapacity.—The O'Moores and O'Connors.—Parallel between the native Irish and the Scots.—Unsuccessful attempt to surprise the castle of Dublin.—Arrest of the insurgents.—Sir Francis Willoughby made governor of the Castle.—Rising of the Ulster rebels.—Great success of the insurrection.—Bedell, bishop of Kilmore.—Designs against the catholics.—Sudden prorogation of parliament.—Meeting of the catholic clergy and laity.—Cruelty of sir Phelim O'Neill.—Noble conduct of his mother.—Reported massacre of three thousand catholics.—Unworthy conduct of English statesmen.—Alleged apparitions.—Spread of the insurrection.—Outrages in Munster.—Kindness of the catholics towards the sufferers.—Salutary measures of the marquis of Clanricarde.—Rout of a party of English near Drogheda.—Feud between the native Irish and the colonists.—English lords and gentlemen of the Pale volunteer in the service of the crown.—General execution of prisoners.—Employment of the rack.—Victory of lord Moore over the rebels.—Archbishop Usher and his prophecy.—Siege of Drogheda.—Proclamation offering a reward for the heads of the insurgents.—The siege of Drogheda raised.—Defection of the lords of the Pale.—Proceedings of the English parliament.—Conference on the state of the kingdom.—General insurrection.—Its immediate causes.—Operations of the clergy.—The general assembly.—Address to the king.—Return from abroad of Irish officers.—Additions to the Scottish force.—Destructive encounter with the rebels.—Cruelties of Munroe, the Scottish general.—Heroic conduct of the lady Offaley.—Battle of Kilrush.—Earl of Castlehaven.—Cruelties of the lords-justices.—Negotiations with the insurgents.—Independent spirit of the catholics.—Petition to the king.—Pier-Francesco Scarnpati, minister from the pope.—Object of his mission to Ireland.—The cessation.—Violent opposition to it.—Want of confidence in the king.—Adherence of the leading noblemen to the royal cause.—The cessation publicly proclaimed throughout the kingdom.—Efforts to supersede it.—Opposition of the Scots.—Earl of Antrim.—Remonstrance of the catholics.—Strife of parties in Ireland.—Battle of Rosse.—Treaty of Oxford.—Claims put forward by the catholic party.—Slow progress of right and justice.—Rigorous measures against the catholics.—Solemn League and Covenant.—Its power crushed by Ormond.—The nuncio Rinuccini.—Fallacious peace concluded.—O'Kelly, archbishop of Tuam.—Battle of Benburb.—Death of O'Neill.

The part which the Irish began now to act, in the affairs of this reign, formed one of its strangest and most peculiar features. While the rebels of Ulster were planning, in secret, their work of vengeance, the monarch himself, assisted by Irish counsellors, was engaging in

schemes which nought but their weakness had so long prevented from drawing upon him humiliation, and almost disgrace. The immediate object of his present designs was to have at his disposal that Irish army which had been so long kept in reserve. Steps had been taken in the time of Strafford to forward this wish of the monarch; and the person whom the king then employed to negotiate for him was an intriguing Irish lord, the earl of Antrim. However unfortunate for the king was the selection of such an agent, we are indebted to it for an amusing episode, which Strafford, in one of his letters, relates with much humour. It must be premised that, among the pretensions advanced by Antrim, he laid claim to some portion of the marquis of Argyle's estates, which lay among the western isles of Scotland; and, under pretence of assailing the Covenanters, had got leave from the king to undertake an expedition from the coast of Ulster, and, by force of arms, assert his right to that territory. "I inquired of him," says Strafford, "what store of victuals his lordship had provided for the 8000 foot and 300 horse whom he proposed to transport? He replied, 'Not any; they could find sufficient, he thought, in an enemy's country, to maintain them; only he should take 10,000 live cows, to furnish milk.' But, suppose Argyle should drive the cattle, carry off the corn, and lay waste the country, how were men, horses, or cows to find subsistence? 'They would do well enough; feed their horses with leaves of trees, and themselves with shamrocks.' To this I craved leave," says Strafford, "to inform his lordship, that I had heard there were no trees in the isles; but, if trees, as yet no leaves. What provision, I inquired, had he made, to feed his men whilst he was training them, and during their embarkation? They were, the whilst, I reminded him, in a friend's country, all true and loyal subjects; those he might not plunder in any wise. 'He had not considered of that.' What officers had he to instruct and lead them, what powder, ball, ordnance, ammunition, implements

of every kind? He referred himself to me for all these things; but he would not make a formal war of it; 'he would land on the isles, were it only with 300 men; the inhabitants did so adore him (that was his expression), that he could do more with that number than another with 20,000 : none would fight against him, all for him.' "

Notwithstanding such glaring proofs of this lord's absurdity, the king persevered in employing him; and among the trusts he now secretly confided to him was that of sounding somewhat the intentions of those officers who had been commissioned to raise soldiers for the king of Spain. An impression had been entertained that they came for the purpose of taking away "the Irish army,"—as that force of 8000 men raised by Strafford was always styled. But among those to whom the secret might safely be trusted, it was well known that the real intention was to keep those soldiers at home, for the service of the king,—being one of the few resources on which he could depend, in that conflict with his refractory parliament which he now saw to be inevitable. With similar secrecy those persons who were acting for him applied for aid to the catholics of the Pale, and likewise to the Ulster chiefs, who hailed most joyfully the proffered alliance, approved highly of the project of seizing the castle of Dublin, and promised to co-operate with their plan by attacking on the same day most of the English garrisons in the northern countries. In all these designs, the earl of Antrim was still his majesty's private agent and contriver.

There were thus, at this crisis, in full activity, two secret negotiations, or rather plots, the devisers of which, though differing totally and irreconcilably in their ultimate objects, were both availing themselves for their respective purposes of the same massy, but pliant instrument, the native Irish population. While, on one side, the brave descendants of the O'Moores and O'Connors of other days were loudly appealing to them to rally around

their national standard; on the other, the monarch himself was secretly trying to obtain, in the struggle he saw then impending, the perilous alliance of his rebel subjects against his refractory parliament.

We have seen that, under the influence of that rage for colonisation which prevailed in the time of James I., when large grants were bestowed upon companies and individuals to which neither the givers nor the receivers had the slightest shadow of claim, that monarch, seized, like the rest of the world, with this colonising spirit, dispossessed of their lands the entire population of no less than six out of the thirty-two counties contained in the kingdom, and transferred the territories possessed by them and their ancestors to English and Scottish planters. But these exiles carried along with them a deep and revengeful recollection of all that themselves and their fellow-countrymen had suffered, and although Tyrone had been many years dead, a son worthy of his name and fame was still alive, commanded a regiment in the Spanish service, and had been encouraged to expect aid from cardinal Richelieu as well as from the courts of Spain and Rome. With Tyrone was closely associated Roger O'Moore, whose ancestors were expelled from their lands in the reigns of Edward and Mary, and their sept almost exterminated by force of arms.

The amiable qualities of O'Moore had rendered him generally popular. His handsome person, courteous manner, and various talents, insured him a welcome wherever he went; and so much loved was he among the Irish in general, that they used to celebrate him in their songs; and it was a common saying among them, "God and our Lady be our help, and Roger O'Moore." In order to sound and ascertain the real state of the popular feeling in Ireland, O'Moore had visited Ulster, and there consulted respecting the prospects of their great cause with lord Maguire, baron of Iniskillen, who, by the few remains of his sept still left in Fermanagh, was regarded as their chieftain. Among other zealous

friends of the cause with whom O'Moore consulted, were Hugh Mac-Mahon, grandson to the late Tyrone, colonel Birn, and sir Phelim O'Neill, the man of most influence, of his name and lineage, then resident in Ulster. Of the malecontents who joined their ranks, some belonged to those ancient families in Ulster who had been driven out of their dwellings at the point of the pike,—not for offences of their own, but of those thanists, or chiefs, to whom the districts belonged, and who alone were justly accountable for them. Some had, themselves, been robbed and ruined by the late inquisition in Connaught, that fraudulent scheme of Strafford's, to enrich the king at the expense of his subjects, and extirpate the natives to make way for strangers;—a scheme which has been truly pronounced to have been “one of the fountains and spring-heads” of the rebellion that followed. All were impelled by those two joint incentives,—revenge for past wrongs, and sanguine hope of speedy redress. They had now before them, too, the encouraging example of the Scots; and when asked afterwards what chiefly moved them to take up arms, their answer was, “Why should not we as well, and better, fight for religion, which is the substance, than the Scots did for ceremonies, which are but shadows?” Another ground they alleged for their confidence was no less characteristic,—they “thought themselves as well able to overthrow a constitution as the Covenanters.”

All had been arranged by Antrim and his friends for a general rising both in Dublin and the northern counties, on the first day of the meeting of parliament, in the month of November. But this delay by no means suited the impatient temperament of the ancient Irish, and they determined to attempt the surprise of the castle of Dublin on the 23d of October. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22d the conspirators began early to assemble; and all was in forwardness for their attack on the castle the following day. But, that very night, one of their leaders, Hugh MacMahon, disclosed the

secret to a protestant gentleman, named Owen O'Conolly, whom he hoped to engage in their cause. In the course of the night, O'Conolly communicated to sir William Parsons the alarming intelligence which he had received; in consequence of which MacMahon, Maguire, and about thirty more were arrested; and so little concerned, or rather so daring, was Hugh MacMahon, that, while waiting in a hall till the council should examine him, he amused himself with chalking upon the floor, as if foreshadowing his own fate, figures of men hanging upon gibbets, or writhing on the ground. When brought before the council, he avowed, at once, with a tone of defiance, his share in the plot, adding, that although he had failed in this attempt, there were yet other places of strength to be attacked, of which no human power could now prevent the fall. "For himself, it was true, they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased; but he was sure to be revenged."

Through the assistance, as it appears, of friends in Dublin, O'Moore and other principals of the plot were enabled to escape across the river in the night. Sir Francis Willoughby, an officer of high reputation, was made governor of the castle, which, though furnished with arms for 10,000 men, could boast but eighteen warders and forty halberdiers, to compose the whole of its garrison.

While these events were passing in Dublin, the Ulster rebels, who knew not the fate of their southern allies, commenced the insurrection on the appointed day, "rising up," says one of the accounts of the day, "as if they were actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places, and at one and the same point of time." But the first act of sir Phelim O'Neill, their principal leader, gave fearful earnest of the barbarous spirit which he afterwards displayed. As if to dishonour his cause at starting, on the very eve of the day fixed for the general outbreak, he invited himself to sup with lord Caulfield,

the governor of the castle of Charlemont, and having thus gained admission for many of his followers, took advantage of the hour of festivity to make the governor, his family, and the whole garrison prisoners. The same night, sir Phelim seized on the castle of Dunganannon, once the seat of Ulster's kings; while some of his associates took by force the castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was taken possession of by the O'Hanlons, and Newry by Con Magennis, who found there a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Roger Maguire, brother to the lord of that name, made himself master, in a short time, of the greater part of the county of Fermanagh; and the ancient sept of the MacMahons possessed themselves of every stronghold in the county of Monaghan. By skilfully dividing their forces so as to surprise, in rapid succession, one castle or garrison after another, they became, in eight days, the triumphant occupants of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Derry; besides several other castles and places, which, though at first stoutly defended, were at length, for want of relief, compelled to surrender into their hands.

This sweeping course of unchecked aggression occupied the space of only a week; and so rapidly had sir Phelim's force in that time increased, that he now found himself at the head of an army of 30,000 men. During this first week of the insurrection, the original scheme of the Ulster leaders was so far pursued, that, although great numbers of the English were driven from their dwellings and dispossessed of their property, few fell by the sword; and no such frightful acts of cruelty had yet been perpetrated as afterwards rendered the very name of the northern Irish an abomination to Europe. On the contrary, we find, at this time, notwithstanding the strife and confusion that prevailed, more than one instance of the pliant readiness with which the Irish heart opens to kindness; whenever the

rare experiment is tried of appealing to its better qualities, instead of rousing, by wrongs and insults, into activity, all that is worst, most inflammable, and dangerous in the national character.

That learned and amiable prelate, William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, was at this time in the county of Cavan, and, though a dignitary of the church hostile to them, was treated by the insurgents with every mark, not merely of respect, but affectionate reverence. His was the only house in the country that during that time remained unviolated; and it was filled with the people who fled to him for shelter. He, and all those within his walls, says his biographer, bishop Burnet, "enjoyed to a miracle perfect quiet."

By this excellent man—"one of the brightest lights," as he is described, "of the Irish church"—was drawn up that Remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, which was presented about this time to the king; and which, coming from a protestant prelate far too wise and amiable to sanction statements which he did not himself believe, may be regarded as a fair representation of the state of feeling then in that province, and shall be given therefore at length.

"To the right honourable the Justices and Council, the humble Remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their grievances, common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland:

"Whereas we, his majesty's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have, of long time, groaned under many grievances and pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes than the honour of his majesty, or the welfare of his subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his highness by our agents, sent from the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just grounds given on our parts, to alter his majesty's goodness, so long continued to us. Of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceedings of our neighbour nations; and do see it already at-

tempted by certain petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way; so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all his majesty's other dominions have been liued in one. For the preventing, therefore, of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as, coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom. And we do hereby declare that herein we harbour not the least thought of hostility towards his majesty, or purpose any hurt to his highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty, only we desire that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrances to his majesty for us of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as, in part, we have already done.

"An answer bereunto is most humbly desired; with such present expedition as may by your lordship be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting, or privy of ours. All which we leave to your lordship's wisdom, and shall humbly pray, etc. etc."

The apprehension here expressed, by the catholic Remonstrants, of being expelled from "their native seats," was one that had spread, at this time, universally among the Irish, and indeed no doubt can now exist, that the dominant party in England and Ireland, of which, in this latter country, the lords-justices were the representatives, had, for a considerable time, entertained the inhuman project of entirely extirpating the catholic Irish, and establishing new plantations throughout the kingdom.

"The lord-justices," says a well-informed writer, "set their hearts on the extirpation not only of the mere Irish, but likewise of all the old English families that

were Roman catholics." (1) To the same authority we owe the important admission, that the party which first formed the inhuman design of extirpating all the catholics, had, by publishing that design, rendered the rebellion so active and general as it proved at last.

Concurrent with this notable project, and not much later in date, was a scheme devised by the same rapacious party for the confiscation of the possessions of all the catholics of Ireland. At the time when they were thus impatient to seize the spoils of their own ruinous handiwork, the rebellion, which began in Ulster on the 23d of October, had not yet spread into the other provinces, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the lords-justices to goad them into an outbreak. Nevertheless, so early as the ensuing February, a company of adventurers was formed in London, who, calculating on the forfeiture of the entire island, excepting what belonged to the protestants, presented an address to the parliament, in which they showed, by calculation, that when the work of reducing Ireland "was finished there would be of confiscated lands" no less than ten millions of acres; and the proposal they made was to raise money to suppress the rebellion, by the sale of a portion of those lands. (2)

Though, at the time we have now reached, this sweeping scheme of spoliation had not yet been openly announced, it was well known to be in progress, together with the other avowed project of rooting out of the kingdom the whole of its catholic population.

Among those new supplies of mischief which the lords-justices had ever ready at command, one of the most aptly timed; for general annoyance, was their sudden prorogation of the parliament, which had but just then (November 17th) assembled, and which they again, with self-willed perverseness, prorogued to the 24th of Fe-

(1) Carte.

(2) The king said, with some truth, of this scheme of the adventurers, that it was "disposing of the skin before the bear was dead."

bruary. To the Irish, as we have already seen, the meeting of parliament was always a welcome event; and, in the present instance, had been looked to with peculiar eagerness, as it was known, or at least eagerly hoped, that the long-promised Graces which the committee had brought with them from England,—those especially which limited the king's title to sixty years,—would be confirmed in this session of parliament. But such a result would have wholly defeated the sinister views of the lords-justices; and they therefore persisted in adjourning parliament at so critical a juncture, thereby frustrating the royal purpose, and again baffling the long-indulged hopes of the whole nation.

While such was the barefaced tyranny with which the State at this time acted and legislated, the great mass of the people were far more secretly, but not less resolutely, preparing for that coming conflict which both saw to be now inevitable; and with this view, in the month of October, a great meeting was held of the catholic clergy and laity, at the ancient abbey of Multifarnam, in the county of West Meath, where most of the councils of the rebel leaders were held. The few particulars we are told of this assembly show—as far as such startling details may be trusted—that, although eager to have their oppressors within their grasp, they had not yet made up their minds as to the manner in which they should dispose of them. Some were for only extirpating without taking away their lives, as the king of Spain, they said, had, much to his honour, treated the Moors; and the same lenity towards the English would be of advantage, they owned, to their cause, both in England and in other countries.

But, on the other side, the violent opinion prevailed, that it was false policy in the Spanish monarch not to massacre all the Moors, and that for this his own dominions and all Christendom had since then suffered. Equally dangerous they thought it would prove, to expel the English, who might come again among them

with swords in their hands, and redoubled rage and vengeance in their hearts. It was, therefore, their opinion, that a general massacre would be the safest way to free the kingdom from such fears.

There was among them another party, who declared for a milder mode of proceeding; neither to extirpate nor to massacre the English, but to take possession of their estates and commit themselves to prison. (1)

To this ominous scene in the abbey, the events that followed formed a fearful sequel. As plunder had been the chief object of sir Phelim's late inroad into Ulster, the numbers slain in that expedition were inconsiderable. Enough of blood, however, had been shed to arouse in his cowardly nature all that thirst for the carnage and cruelties of warfare which, in him, usurped the place of real valour. His importance also, as a leader, was at this time considerably increased by his announcing publicly to his followers that he had the king's commission for taking arms; and in order to prove the truth of this assertion, he produced a parchment, with the great seal of Scotland appended to it, which he declared to be his commission. That this instrument was a forgery, is now very generally admitted. But it encouraged still more the ambition and vanity of the Irish leader; who, finding himself the acknowledged head of so large a multitude, caused his proclamations to be made in the name of the The O'Neill, and began to assume all the jurisdiction and dignity which belonged to that ancient title.

Having attained, and without any claims from worth or talent, this high and powerful position, he saw it was only by the force of numbers and brute strength he could hope to retain it. He therefore resolved that no scruples of conscience, or even of cowardice, should stand in the way of that course of terror and devastation which he had marked out for himself; and a part of his odious

(1) Leland adds, in describing this assembly, "such is the account given by a Franciscan, who alleged that he was present and took share in the proceedings."

policy was to embroe so deep in blood the hands of his followers, as to deprive them of all chance of pardon, and thus render them the more ready to become blindly and desperately his instruments. At first, however, his fits of cruelty were few and at long intervals; and he began by singling out individual victims. Thus, by his order, the old lord Charlemont was slain in Kinnaird Castle,—the family mansion of Phelim O'Neill, to which this lord had been conveyed a prisoner; and Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, was hanged by him in his own garden. His next exploit was, on receiving intelligence that the rebels had been repulsed, and several of the sept of the O'Neills slain, in their attack on the castle of Augher. To revènge this act, he ordered all the English and Scots within three parishes to be killed. This thirst for slaughter became, both in him and his maddened followers, but the more eager from being indulged; and, when told of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he hastened, in a fit of fury, to Armagh, and, regardless of the capitulation made by himself but a short time before, set fire to the town and the cathedral, and ordered a hundred innocent people to be put to death.

In the midst of these scenes of slaughter, which became every day more alarming, there was one fearless and noble-hearted lady, who, devoting herself with true womanly feeling to the task of soothing, at least, those sufferings she could not remedy, made her house, during this period, the refuge of many of those protestant English who had been marked out as victims of popular fury. This excellent lady was no other than the widow Catharine Hovenden, sir Phelim's own mother, who for many months had sheltered under her roof twenty-four Englishmen and Scots, supporting them at her own cost, and thus preserved them through all that frightful crisis uninjured. Her son, too, captain Alexander Hovenden, lent his aid in this truly Christian service, having conducted thirty-five of the English from Armagh to Drogheda, and twenty in perfect safety to Newry.

To what an extent the amount of slaughter during this struggle was on both sides aggravated, is shown in the instance of the small district called Island-Magee,—a peninsula adjoining to the town of Carrickfergus,—where, as we are required to believe, three thousand persons, all catholics, were murdered in one night; and this event stands forth the more prominently in our history, from the assertion, frequently hazarded, that it was the first massacre committed on either side during this conflict. But both the date assigned to the event and the great number said to have been massacred, are inconsistent with known facts; as, in our own times, the whole population of Island-Magee has never amounted to two thousand persons; and the catholics of that peninsula had been in arms from the very first day of the insurrection.

To dwell any further on the shocking details of this murderous march of sir Phelim through Ulster, is a task that may well be spared to the historian; though so great and potent did he appear to his partisans, that they used frequently, we are told, to drink on their knees to sir Phelim O'Neill, "lord general of the catholic army in Ulster, earl of Tyrone, and king of Ireland." But though thus glorified in the eyes of his followers, he no longer maintained the position which he had so rapidly reached at starting; and, after the first week of the insurrection, his success rapidly declined. He was still attended, however, by an immense multitude, who at every step of their brutal course brought fresh odium on that righteous cause of which they had made themselves the unworthy champions.

On this dark chapter of our history it is needless as well as humiliating to dwell at any length. To the protestant the story, or legend, of the Irish massacre is from his childhood familiar; being, too often, the only remarkable event in our history with which he deigns to become acquainted; while, to the catholic, it brings a feeling of retrospective shame, like that which wrung

from lord Castlehaven—himself a catholic peer—those emphatic words, “Not all the water in the sea could wash away the guilt of the rebels.” But, however barbarous were the Irish insurgents, scarcely less odious in their way and sphere were those English statesmen, who, availing themselves of the hate then heaped on the catholics, English as well as Irish, did not scruple to turn to account this unchristian feeling, and even prided themselves on their cleverness in making it subservient to their own party interests. “On all occasions,” says Carte, “when any shameful point was to be carried, the Irish rebellion was still brought in;” and, among those who looked the most eagerly to a share in its windfalls, were the two lords-justices, who, having laboured so hard to scatter the seeds of rebellion throughout the kingdom, now expected to receive their reward in a rich harvest of forfeitures.

With the view, as it was plausibly pretended, of satisfying the public mind, but in reality to keep still alive, by new tales of blood and horror, the impression which the first accounts of the massacre had made, two commissions were issued by the Irish authorities, with power “to inquire into the losses sustained by the English, and the cruelties which the natives had exercised upon them in different parts of the kingdom.” From the depositions taken by the commissioners, which form thirty-two folio volumes, and are still extant in manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a selection was made and published by sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland; and from the care with which, in most of these foolish stories, the marvellous is always mixed with the murderous, it seems probable that the greater part of them are forgeries as well as fictions. Of the supernatural appearances sworn to in these depositions, a specimen or two will be quite sufficient: “Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, deposeth and saith, that she and other women, whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and visions

which were seen near Portnedown Bridge, since the drowning of her children and the rest of the protestants, went unto the bridge aforesaid, about twilight in the evening; and then and there upon a sudden appeared unto them a vision or spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waist-high, upright in the water, her hair hanging down, and her skin as white as snow, which spirit did often repeat the word 'Revenge! Revenge!'" By another deponent, a ghost was seen "with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following Lent."

Down to the period at which we have arrived, the insurrection had been confined to Ulster; but it now had reached some of the counties of Leinster, and was extending into Connaught. The people of Leitrim, provoked at the extensive plantations which had been formed on their lands, soon followed the example of the Northerners. The sept of the O'Byrnes, in the county of Wicklow, fully of vindictive recollections of the injustice and persecutions they had suffered, joined the people of the adjacent counties of Wexford and Carlow, drove the English from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the very walls of Dublin.

In Munster tranquillity prevailed till the latter end of December; many of the catholic lords and gentry having loyally tendered their services to the government, and exerted their utmost influence to prevent any disturbance. Among these was lord Muskerry, who had even offered to raise 1000 men, and to furnish them with arms at his own expense, provided that when the rebellion came to a close, he might retain them, or else be repaid the money they had cost him. This province remained very tranquil, until the brother-in-law of sir William St. Leger, the lord president of Munster, committed some acts of violence, which excited considerable alarm and indignation throughout the province. A rabble of disorderly persons having carried off from this man's lands a large prey of cattle, he sallied forth with two troops of horse,

and slaughtered a great number of men and women who were wholly innocent of the offence. These outrages were followed by others no less murderous; till, at length, the principal persons of the province, alarmed at such proceedings, and fearing they might provoke a general rising of the people, waited upon the lord president to remonstrate with him on the consequences of his relative's conduct. Among these gentlemen were James Butler, lord baron Dunboyne, Thomas Butler of Kilconel, and several other persons of good quality, who desired, they said, "nothing more than to serve his majesty and preserve the peace;" and who prayed "he would be pleased to qualify them for it with authority and arms." But the lord president, instead of receiving their representation as they had expected, answered in a hasty, furious manner, that "they were all rebels; that he would not trust one soul of them; but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them."

Though thus goaded into resistance, it was not till the middle of December that any of the gentlemen of Munster appeared to favour the insurrection. But seeing at length no other alternative than either to rise in open rebellion, or else be trodden down under the hoofs of a savage soldiery, they attacked and took possession of Cashel—the place where, in general, the English troops were stationed, and from whence frequently they had sallied forth to slaughter and plunder the natives. On the present occasion, the leader of the Irish force was Philip O'Dwyer, one of those whom the lord president had lately treated with so much insolence. But, being too generous to revenge that insult upon the English now in his power, O'Dwyer kindly lent all his aid to preserve their properties and lives; though there were many among his followers not so merciful, who, having lost by the hands of the English some dear friends or relatives, now called aloud for vengeance, and already had attacked and slain more than a dozen of the king's troops. But the rest of the English intruders were all sheltered and kindly

treated by the natives; and all the goods which had been confided to them were carefully restored. Among the foremost in this work of charity, there were a few whose names, though in other respects obscure, it would seem ungrateful not to record. Thus, a protestant dignitary, Dr. Samuel Pullen, chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert, who with his wife and children had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, were friendly watched over and kept safe from all danger by a Jesuit, James Saul. Several other catholic priests are mentioned, who displayed, on this trying occasion, the same Christian spirit,—more especially, Joseph Everard and Redmond English, both Franciscan friars, who concealed some of these protestant fugitives in their chapel, and even under the altar.

In Connaught, where the power of the English was inconsiderable, it was thought expedient to strengthen the hands of lord Ranelagh, then president of that province, by giving him the aid, as temporary colleagues, of lord Mayo, and lord Dillon of Costello. But, after a long and fruitless struggle against the difficulties that surrounded him, lord Ranelagh finally resigned his office, and the insurrection then spread through the chief part of Connaught.

In this emergency, the only hope that remained to the English of being able to retain the footing they had gained in Connaught, depended on the efforts of the marquis of Clanricarde, who was governor of the town and county of Galway, and whose ardour in the royal cause had evinced a spirit of loyal devotion not unworthy of the ancient chivalrous times. In whatever aspect, indeed, we view this nobleman, whether as a chieftain and idol of the people, in Ireland, or as a highbred British peer and favourite of the court in England, we find him in each of these very different spheres alike the object of general affection and respect: and this concurrent homage to worth was, in his instance, the more remarkable, as he bore the stigma, for such it

was then deemed in England, of being a Roman catholic.

The measures taken by him in the present exigence were as effectual as they had been decisive and prompt. By his own exertions, vast influence, and unsparing expenditure, he succeeded, and almost without bloodshed, in reducing the town to submission. This timely success, by which one of the strongest and most important towns in the kingdom had been reduced to submission, redounded the more to Clanricarde's credit, from the great difficulties he had to contend with, at every step, and the impediments thrown in his way by those odious lords-justices, whose wish and policy it was to prevent all submissions but those of which bloodshed was the forerunner, and large forfeitures the result. In one of his letters he complains that the proceedings of these authorities toward him "were so laid as if their design were to force him and his into resistance."

Meanwhile the insurrection was spreading rapidly, and the Irish had got possession of most of the castles and fortresses in Galway. The adjoining county of Sligo fell likewise under their command, and, with the exception of a few castles which still held out, they were masters of the county of Roscommon.

Undismayed by his ill success in the northern province, where he was daily losing ground, sir Phelim had drawn down a considerable force to the south, in order to form the siege of Drogheda; and a slight success which he happened to achieve when approaching that town, refreshed and emboldened as much himself and his crowd of followers, as it disheartened and alarmed the English. A small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed principally of English fugitives, had been detached from the castle of Dublin to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda; and, when about three miles from that town, they found themselves surrounded at a place called Julian's Town Bridge, by more than 2000 of the insurgents. After a short attempt at resistance, the English were defeated and put to flight. This discomfiture, though in

itself of slight importance, was rendered serious by the deep impression it made. The insurgents, highly elated by a success so new to them, already talked with a confident air of reducing Drogheda; and even of marching with their whole force to invest the capital; and had they seized that moment of panic to follow up their blow, the result might have been perilous if not fatal to the ruling powers. Already had entire regiments of the royal army deserted to the rebel standard; and the alarm which this sudden danger had produced, was much increased by the absence of sir Charles Coote, who then commanded in Dublin, but had been sent by the lords-justices to relieve the castle of Wicklow, which was then closely besieged by the rebels, and in great danger of being taken. To meet the more imminent perils that threatened the capital, their lordships sent to recall him; and he had to force his way back through 1000 of the sept of O'Toole who opposed his march.

The condition in which at this juncture the lords and gentlemen of the English Pale found themselves placed, was in all respects critical and embarrassing. The feud which had always subsisted between the two races—the mere Irish, as the ancient Milesians were called, and the Anglo-Irish, or colonies of English extraction—was still subsisting in full force. The date of this feud lay as far back as the first settlement of the English in Ireland; and to the mixture of the two bloods which then ensued, the Irish themselves chiefly attribute all those feuds and subdivisions of feuds by which their country has been ever since distracted. “Not only,” say they, “the new Irish, or Anglo-Irish, made war upon the ancient Milesians, and were attacked by them in turn, but the new were at war with the new, and the ancient equally at war among themselves.” So much influenced were they by this ancient grudge, even in the selection of those who were to act with them in the insurrection, that among the hundred chosen leaders by whom the seizure of Dublin Castle was to be effected, not a single name

was found that denoted a mixture of English blood.

But on their loyalty, no less than on their race, the people of the Pale had always prided themselves. So pure, indeed, from all defection had they remained, that even in the last great rebellion they had stood firm to the crown of England; nor was Tyrone, in the height of his power and fame, ever able to carry rebellion into the precincts of the English Pale. (1)

But, to come to the important period that claims at present our notice; events were now in progress, more especially amongst the inhabitants of the Pale, which contained within them the germs of much that occurred during the two or three following years. Soon after the first explosion of the revolt in Ulster, the leading persons of the English Pale repaired in a body to Dublin, and proffered their loyal services to the State, to preserve that part of the country from the incursions of the northern insurgents. At the same time these lords and gentlemen requested a supply of arms to enable them to perform this service. To the lords-justices this proffer of aid was the more embarrassing, as they could not altogether decline it. They contrived, however, to comply in such a manner as to render their compliance wholly nugatory. For Louth, which, of all the counties, was by far the most exposed to danger, 300 stand of arms were granted; for lord Gormanston 500; and 900 for other persons whose names or places are not specified. Scanty as were such means of defence, and against an enemy that now counted 20,000 men in the field, the lords-justices, taking alarm at their own unwonted trust in papists, suddenly recalled almost all the arms; and, not content with this open insult, issued a proclamation, enjoining that, within one hour after its publication, all those persons who were not dwellers in the city or suburbs should retire to their own dwellings, under pain of immediate

(1) The territory called "The Pale" comprehended the county of Louth in the province of Ulster, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare in the province of Leinster.

death. Thus left wholly without means of defence, these lords and gentry found themselves forced either to resist the rebels as enemies, or, by consorting with them as friends and neighbours, incur the penalties of treason. Among the many then reduced to this painful alternative, was sir Robert Talbot, of Castle Talbot, who, being left without any sure place of retreat, was forced to lurk wherever he could find shelter; and in this state was forced to remain until the breach between the king and the English parliament, when, like other wronged and high-spirited catholics, he entered into the confederacy.

To meet the dangers that threatened Dublin, sir Charles Coote, whose fame for cruelties first recommended him to the lords-justices, was appointed governor of that city, and, by the course which he immediately entered upon, sustained with but too much success the ominous fame which his love of bloodshed had acquired for him. The orders from thenceforth given to the forces sent from Dublin, was to "kill, burn, and destroy." Their plan at first was to bring as prisoners into the city, most of those who had escaped their swords. But, finding that the numbers thus spared became too great, they determined to clear the prisons, and execute the unfortunate wretches by martial law, which, in the temper that then influenced the ruling powers, was of course a mere form. From this cruel process men of estates were exempted, in order to preserve the king's escheats upon attainders. But all others were given up to martial law, and on the pretext that enough of freeholders could not be found for juries. These executions, therefore, fell entirely upon the poorer class of Irish, who had no goods to forfeit; and more especially on the priests and friars, who were regarded as so many beasts of prey, and executed with as little ceremony.

An act of this kind committed by Coote, at the period which occupies us, would hardly have awakened any notice, had not the victim, father Higgins, a pious and harmless Irish priest, been under the protection of lord

Ormond, and accompanied that lord to Dublin. This unoffending man had officiated as a priest at Naas, and had much distinguished himself by his humanity in saving from slaughter the English in those parts. But now, without any trial, or even notice, he was suddenly one morning seized, and by the order of sir Charles Coote hanged.

On learning the fate of this innocent man, thus wantonly hanged for no other reason than his being a priest, Ormond hastened to the council-board, and expostulated in strong terms with the lords-justices on the cruel act to which they had lent their sanction. With assumed surprise these shameless functionaries declared, that "they had no other hand in the matter than giving to sir Charles a general authority to order such executions, without, in each case, referring to their sanction." Ormond threatened, that unless they atoned to him for this act, he would throw up his commission. But, recollecting that this was probably the very step they wished him to take, and besides, considering how much he might damage the king's affairs by resigning at this juncture, he determined not to indulge their insatiable malice by taking such a step.

Not content with martial law, whose terrors were doubly terrible in such hands, they now resolved, in addition to their other resources of tyranny, to employ the use of the rack; and the first subjected by them to this cruel trial was Hugh Mac Mahon, one of those who had joined in the plan of surprising the castle of Dublin. The question to which they most laboured to extort an answer from him was, whether the king was privy to or encouraged the rebellion? But no torture could wring from him the sort of answer that suited their purpose. Their second victim, whose case occurred some time after, was sir John Read, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chanber; who, happening to visit Ireland, was entrusted with letters to the king by the lords of the Pale. Making no secret of his journey, he wrote to request a

pass to England from the lords-justices, who, in return, invited him to Dublin, under the pretence of holding a conference: But, on his arrival, he was committed to close imprisonment in the castle, and on the following day put to the rack; although it appears he had never been implicated in any illegal transaction whatever. There was yet another act of atrocity of the same kind—their treatment of Mr. Barnewall, of Kilbrew, a venerable old man, sixty-six years of age, and one of the most considerable gentlemen of the Pale. He was likewise put to the torture. But, being innocent himself, and not privy to the guilt of others, he had no revelations to make.

While in the south these events were in progress, the Ulster insurgents under sir Phelim, having been joined by a large force from Leinster, were busily occupied with the siege of Drogheda.

The situation of this ancient town, between Dublin and the north, and the great facilities for navigation which its river and harbour afforded, rendered the possession of it an object of such importance, that upon its fate that of the whole kingdom was thought, in a great measure, to depend. The first alarm that reached lord Moore of the approach of the insurgents, then within five miles of the town, was coupled with the painful intelligence that his sister, lady Blaney, and her children, had fallen into their hands. In this emergency lord Moore assumed temporarily the direction of affairs; and orders were sent to sir Henry Tichbourne, a distinguished officer, then living at Douloghs, near Dublin, urging him to raise, without any delay, a regiment of 1000 soldiers, and march with all expedition to Drogheda.

Of the state of this town, when the siege commenced, the earl of Ormond, in a letter to the king, gives the following account:—“Our greatest strength now lies in Drogheda, which is faced with four or five thousand rebels, and by them daily threatened with an assault. But the town is well furnished with all necessaries to

repel them, and those commanded by a very gallant gentleman, sir Henry Tichbourne, who, I am confident, will give a good account of the town, or lay his bones in it." To the pen of this able officer we are indebted for a full account of this long siege, which is addressed by him to his lady, and bears vividly the stamp of the man and his times. A disciple of the school of Cromwell, this officer belonged to that class of religionists who did not scruple to enforce their doctrines at the sword's point, and, even still worse, invoked the Deity as a direct accomplice in all their own schemes of spoil and slaughter. Thus, on one occasion he says, piously, "By God's singular blessing, we routed them, and killed about forty on the place." On another, his horse having broke loose at night and galloped wildly through the streets, the rebels, who had prepared for an attack, gave up the design, on hearing this noise, supposing it to be an alarm. On this incident the general remarks, "God's workings are wonderful — this put the rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepared to welcome them than in truth we were, and thereby afforded us somewhat more leisure to entertain them, as by God's blessing we did."

Among the many who at this time suffered by the rebellion was that great ornament of the Irish church, archbishop Usher, who resided generally at Drogheda, but was then absent from home, and whom the rebels despoiled of every thing, except his library and his furniture. These were fortunately preserved by the care of his chaplain, dean Bernard, who says, "One of the chief cares that lay upon me, even more than my life, was that great treasure of my lord primate's which I had the happiness to be trusted with in his absence."

In connexion with this memorable epoch, as well as with Usher himself, a remarkable story is on record, of which the reader may not dislike to be reminded. In the year 1601, Usher, in preaching against the toleration which the catholics were then soliciting, applied to his view of their case the following words of Ezekiel,—

"And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year."

These words Usher applied to the state of Ireland:—

"From this year," he said, "I reckon forty years; and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." "This," says Dr. Parr, "seemed only the random thought of a young man who was no friend to popery; but when afterwards, at the end of forty years, namely, in 1641, the Irish rebellion broke out, and many thousand protestants were murdered, it passed for something more than a random thought, and was considered by many as even prophetic."

An attempt by sir Phelim O'Neill to take the town by escalade was the first exploit of any importance the rebels ventured. But the assault entirely failed. "We gave them," says the English general, "such entertainment as belonged to unwelcome guests;" and the besiegers, who were much disheartened by this failure, resolved to rely on the blockade alone;—trusting from thenceforth to time and patience for starving the garrison into submission. Meanwhile, the besiegers themselves were not permitted much repose; for Tichbourne, by sudden sallies, kept them constantly in alarm, and it was during one of these surprises that the redoubted sir Phelim is said to have stolen to the other side of the river, and hidden himself in a furze bush.

Among the stratagems employed by the garrison to mock their besiegers, they sometimes, we are told, placed pipers on the walls to play, while other tossed up their caps, and cried, "The town is our own, make haste in;" by which means many of the insurgents, who waited to have a gate opened to them, ran hastily into the town and were made prisoners. (1)

With the view of getting possession of the principal offenders, the State issued a proclamation, fixing a price

(1) Cox.

on the head of each, which, says dean Barnard, "was far beyond their worth;" sir Phelim's being valued at 1000*l.*, Ryley's and others' at 800*l.*, and the rest at 400*l.* That many a gallant and generous act was performed during this siege by the insurgents, may safely be taken for granted. But the rebel has seldom a chronicler; and in the instance of most of these brave Irish captains, the amount of the respective rewards offered for their heads forms now the only scale by which their merits can be estimated.

But the pressure of approaching famine began at length to be felt fearfully within the walls. By frequent sallies sufficient provender had been procured for the horses, but the biscuit and meat were exhausted; and, at last, horse-flesh, dogs, and cats formed chiefly the sustenance of the garrison. In vain were appeals made to Dublin; the lords-justices were too much engrossed with their own wants and schemes to be able to spare them much assistance. But at length, towards the end of February, the government having received a reinforcement of 1500 foot and 400 horse, they deemed the army then sufficient to make a diversion in favour of Drogheda, and with this view, the marquis of Ormond was ordered to march towards the Boyne, at the head of a force of 3000 foot and 500 horse. No sooner did the doughty sir Phelim hear of this movement, than he determined to raise the siege, which had now lasted three whole months, and with a precipitancy more like flight than retreat, marched his army to the northern province. (1)

The relief brought to the besieged by the arrival of Ormond is thus described by one of themselves:—"By this," says dean Barnard, "our town was filled with provision: ports began to open, our neighbours making suit to be admitted to our market; castles near hand voluntarily surrendered, the owners submitting, and all

(1) For a full account of this remarkable siege the reader is referred to the History of Drogheda by Mr. D'Alton.

good men's hearts rejoicing by this sudden change."

Nearly at the same time an important success was obtained by lord Moore, who, at the head of his own horse, attacked and defeated the insurgents, killed 400 upon the spot, taking seven captains prisoners, together with their commander, Art Roe MacMahon, whose head was valued in the proclamation at 400*l*.

So long had the feud between the two races, the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, been maintained in all its original bitterness, that to bring them to act in concert, even for objects which both equally desired, was a difficulty that still embarrassed all their proceedings.⁽¹⁾ But Roger Moore, himself descended from an ancient Irish stock, lent the aid of his sound sense to counteract, if not extinguish, this mischievous feud; and, in the Narrative of lord MacGuire, a conversation on this subject is given, in which Moore thus expresses his opinion:—"There was no doubt," he said, "that the Irish would be ready at any time; and he was also well assured that, when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after."

The event showed how correctly Moore had judged of both the parties. The loyalty of the lords of the Pale, though once so memorable, had not been proof against those shocks with which it was daily and hourly tried by the restless tyranny of their English rulers. We have seen what efforts had been made, by insults as well as cruelties, to goad them into resistance; and with what contumely they were treated in being denied the protection of arms. But aggressions even more alarming now awaited them. Parties of soldiers were sent from Dublin and other garrisons, with authority to "hunt and destroy" all rebels,⁽²⁾ and spreading, wherever they

(1) "It is evident," says a contemporary writer, "that until of late the old English Pale despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility and religion, and each of them held the other as an hereditary enemy; and so it would have continued for many years to come, had not these latter days produced a change."—*Discourse of Ireland, Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i.

(2) When on his march towards the Boyne, Ormond received the follow-

went, devastation and alarm. On one of these occasions, large tracts of the territory of the Pale were wantonly burned by the order of the earl of Ormond.

While such were the scenes they witnessed at home, the late proceedings of the English parliament, to whose mercies they had been delivered over by the king, rendered but fainter every hope they had hitherto cherished. The ominous hatred the English commons bore to the catholics, and the threatenings daily muttered within their walls of some dark and deadly design of extirpating their whole race, had spread alarm and consternation amongst the Irish. Already it was said confidently that sir John Clotworthy, who knew perfectly the plans and counsels of the ruling faction, had declared, in the house of commons, that "the conversion of the papists, in Ireland, was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other." Mr. Pym, too, had asserted publicly that "they would not leave a priest in Ireland."

Such was the state of public feeling in both countries, when the lords and leading gentlemen of the Pale received letters from the lords-justices and council, announcing that they "wished for a conference with them on the present state of the kingdom and the safety thereof in these times of danger."

This summons, and from such a quarter,—from men who hated their persons, and harboured designs against their estates,—naturally awakened in them strong apprehensions. On the very same day, whether by accident or design, lord Gormanston, one of the leading lords of the Pale, issued a warrant to the sheriff of Meath for a general meeting of that county, of which his lordship was governor. To the summons of the lord-justices no

ing resolution of the lords-justices:—"It is resolved, that it is His Majesty's command, that his lordship do endeavour with his majesty's forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels and their adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all places, towns, and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved or harboured."

attention whatever was paid : but, in consequence of lord Gormanston's warrant, seven lords and fourteen gentlemen of the Pale, with at least a thousand others, met at the hill of Crofty; and, after they had remained there two or three hours, Roger Moore, accompanied by colonels Birn and MacMahon, appeared with a guard of musketeers.

As soon as the parties had joined, a scene took place of rather a dramatic character, which we find thus described :— Lord Gormanston, as one of the most leading lords, stood forward, and solemnly demanded for what purpose they had entered the Pale thus in arms? to which Moore answered, “ that they had taken up arms for the maintenance of the king's prerogatives, and to render his subjects in Ireland as free as those in England.” It was again with the same solemnity demanded, “ whether these were indeed their real motives, without any selfish or sinister views?” And, on their pledging themselves that all was meant fairly and disinterestedly, lord Gormanston declared “ that he and his party would unite with them for these purposes, and hold as enemies all those who refused to assist their righteous cause.” Their compact being thus formed, another warrant was issued to the sheriff, to summon a general meeting at the hill of Tara the following week.

This defection of the lords of the Pale—an act itself of sudden impulse, but springing out of an old and deep arrerage of discontent, took the whole kingdom by surprise; though so lightly did the ruling powers affect to regard it, that the lords-justices, in writing to England an account of the event, said, in speaking of the seven great lords of the Pale, “ those who know these persons, their power and abilities, know that the strength it adds to the rebels is no more in truth than the addition of seven men to their number.” But how weak and ignorant was this vain vaunt of the lords-justices a very short lapse of time made apparent; for the defection of the Pale lords was soon after followed by a general insurrection throughout the kingdom.

Towards this result there had lately concurred a number of circumstances, all tending to rouse in the people a strong sense of their own power; and among the events that chiefly fostered this popular spirit, was the great victory—for so they proudly styled it—which the insurgents had gained at Julian's-town Bridge. This was the first and only success that yet had crowned their arms, and as such was hailed and welcomed by them with enthusiasm. To have at last brought their haughty masters to acknowledge them as something more than mere serfs, was in itself a prosperous change in their fortunes amounting almost to triumph, and as such was triumphantly hailed by them. Nor was this the only good fortune for which they were indebted to that well-timed victory: it was also one of the inducements that first disposed the lords of the Pale to waver. Another convincing proof of the better prospects now brightening upon them, was, the return among them of their clergy, who had hitherto kept aloof; and, as one of the lords-justices bitterly remarked, "had been walking somewhat invisibly in these works of darkness." But they were now returning gradually among their flocks, and even began to justify openly the rebellion.

The first who ventured on this hazardous step was the primate O'Neill, who, convening the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in synod at Kells, there set forth some Constitutions against "murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other men's estates;" and likewise declared the great struggle in which they were engaged to be "a pious and lawful war." This meeting was followed soon after by a general synod of all the bishops and clergy of Ireland, which met in May at Kilkenny; and among other important acts of this assembly, they provided that no distinction should thenceforth be made between the old and new Irish; that all who had taken arms should be united by a common oath of association; and that whoever refused the oath, or remained neuter, and all who assisted the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence,

should be excommunicated, and deemed the enemies of their country. They resolved, also, to send embassies to foreign potentates; and especially to solicit the assistance of the emperor, the king of France, and the pope. ⁽¹⁾ Nor was it without success they made these appeals to foreign aid; for, not long after, we find the commons of England complaining that from all parts of Europe large contributions were sent to Ireland of money, arms, ammunition, and experienced officers.

The prominent part assigned to the clergy in this revolution—for such the change now working in Ireland might well be deemed—bore, strongly marked upon it, the stamp of that religious feeling for which, from the earliest times of their history, the Irish people have been memorable. ⁽²⁾

With similar zeal the catholic laity, still assisted by their reverend advisers, proceeded to plan some form of government which might lend to their acts the sanction of authority, and likewise prevent the strife and struggle which always attend competition for power. Without pretending to the title of parliament, they established a general assembly, which divided itself into two Houses; one consisting of lords temporal and spiritual; the other of deputies from counties and cities. For the due administration of justice, they assigned to each county a council consisting of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by justices of peace; and likewise to name all county officers except the high sheriff. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial councils; and from these again to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland; an as-

(1) In return for their envoys the king of France first sent them M. La Monarie, to whom succeeded M. du Moulin, and after him M. Talloën. The king of Spain sent first M. Fuyot, a Burgundian, to whom succeeded the count of Beershaven; and after him don Diego de las Torres. The pope sent Scarampus, priest of the Oratorian order, and after him Rinuccini.

(2) Routh, a learned Catholic, to whom the late Doctor O'Connor frequently refers in his writings, was the first, as this reverend gentleman tells us, who suggested the necessity of a General Confederacy, and gave up to the Confederates his cathedral of Kilkenny, where their first session was held, "*pro aris et focis, pro conjugibus et liberis.*"

sembly consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the General Convention, and of which lord Mountgarret was appointed president. Among other important proceedings⁽¹⁾, they declared their adhesion to the common law of England, and the statute law of Ireland, as far as they were not repugnant to the right of the catholic church, or the liberties of Ireland; and as the executive powers of the government were centered in the Supreme Council, that body was furnished with a guard of honour of 500 foot and 200 horse. Having thus settled their form of government, they next appointed the provincial generals; Owen O'Neill for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke for Connaught;—with the hope, however, of prevailing on the earl of Clanricarde to accept the chief command of this province. The seal officially used by them bore in the centre a long cross; on the right side a crown; on the left a harp, with a dove above it; and below, a flaming heart, with the following inscription round it,—“*Pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes.*”⁽²⁾

(1) Among other acts of authority they coined money, and, in honour of St. Patrick, to whom they intended to institute an order of knighthood, a half-penny, bearing on one side the figure of a king, crowned with a radiant crown, kneeling and playing on a harp, over which is placed the imperial crown of England, with this inscription—“*Floreat Rex;*” on the reverse—the figure of St. Patrick, mitred, standing with a crosier in his right hand and a leaf of trefoil in his left, extended to people around him; on his left side is the arms of Dublin, with this inscription—“*Ecce Grex.*” A farthing was also struck much about the same time, bearing on one side the figure of a king crowned, playing on the harp, with a crown over it, the inscription “*Floreat Rex;*” the reverse—St. Patrick, mitred, with a church behind him; he holding in his left hand a double or metropolitan cross, and stretching out his right over a parcel of serpents, as if driving them out of the church, with this inscription—“*Quiescat Plebs.*” It is said that there are still preserved by the curious some few silver pieces bearing the same impressions and inscriptions as these copper ones.—*Simons's Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins.*

(2) The first result of this national union was an humble address to the king, which, as expressing the views and feelings by which the catholics professed to be actuated in this confederacy, shall here be inserted without abridgment.

HUMBLE PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,
Your majesty's most faithful, humble, and loving subjects, having ap-

Among the numbers of Irish officers who, at this crisis, hastened home from foreign shores to lend the

prebended with fulness of sorrow, the condition whereunto the misrepresentation of your ministers in this your kingdom, united with the malignant party of England, has reduced us; and sad experience having brought us to the knowledge of a resolution taken by some malevolent persons there to supplant our nation and religion, being deprived of a safe access to your sacred person; and having observed others of your subjects bent upon our ruin in arms; after a long patience we have humbly conceived it necessary to put ourselves into a posture of natural defence, with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb your government, or to invade any of your high prerogatives, or to oppress any of your British subjects, of what religion soever; that did not labour to suppress us; which in the birth of the present troubles we have solemnly sworn to observe, by oath often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some passionate persons among us should be construed to derogate from the faith and allegiance, which in all humbleness we confess to owe, and sincerely profess unto you. In pursuance of which, our zeal and candid endeavours, bent only to a due settlement of our religion and just liberties, before any act of hostility, committed on our part, we have with all submission addressed ourselves, by petition, to your lords-justices and council here, for timely remedy against the growing and then springing evils. But, therein, we have found, instead of a salve to our wounds, oil poured into the fire of our discontents; which occasioned that intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarranted cruelties upon the puritans, or others suspected of puritanism; which we really detest, have punished in part, and desire to punish with fulness of severity, in all the actors of them, when time shall enable us to it; though the measure offered to the catholic natives here, in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw and children at eight days old; burning of houses, and robbing of all kind of persons, without distinction of friend from foe; and digging up of graves, and their burning the dead bodies of our ancestors, in time of Cessation, and in breach of public faith, have not deserved that justice from us; which unparalleled and unprecedented violations of all human and divine laws, we ascribe, not to any superior commands, but to the savage fury of an unbridled multitude.

Amid these distractions we have entreated our very good lord, the marquess of Ormond, lord-general of your forces here, to convey our humble petition to your majesty, expressing our earnest desire to be directed by you to some place, where with safety, we might inform your majesty of our grievances, and receive your royal commands. But herein we have been and are so unfortunate, that the great diversions administered unto you in other places, have not given your highness time or leisure to take any order for our relief, which fills us with grief, though mixed with hope and confidence, that your majesty having removed all obstacles with the continued felicity of your arms, will look upon our sufferings with those eyes of mercy which brings you nearer to the Divinity you represent, than all the laurels that Mars can heap upon your head, and which, gained with the expense of your subjects' blood, may make you more feared than beloved.

To remove, therefore, the distractions which the heat of the present distempers may produce to yours and our prejudice, we have now met in a

litary skill and experience was Owen O'Neill, an officer who had long served with distinguished success in the imperial and Spanish armies. Having risen to the rank of colonel, he was appointed governor of Arras when that town was besieged by the French in 1640; and was in every respect adapted for the field of action in which he now came to take a part. Though not in the direct line of descent, his claim to the title of Thanist, or chief of the sept of O'Neill, was allowed to be sufficiently founded to set aside the claims or pretensions of the unworthy sir Phelim. Accordingly, on his landing in Ulster, the northern Irish with general acclamation elected him "The O'Neill."

Next to O'Neill in military skill and reputation stood Colonel Thomas Preston, a brother of lord Gormanston, who had served for many years abroad, and had much distinguished himself in the defence of Louvain, when it was besieged by the Dutch. He came to Ireland in a ship of war, attended by two frigates laden with ordnance for battery, and likewise large stores of arms and ammunition. There came with him four colonels, several engineers, and 500 other officers who had long been employed in foreign service.

It was soon manifest, as well to the enemies as to the friends of the Irish cause, that in O'Neill it had gained an accession of strength and guidance that could not but influence very materially the success of the coming struggle. To the large Scottish force which had been collected, as we have seen, in Ulster under Munroe, a great addition had lately been made; the earl of Lieven having landed there such a large addition of force as swelled the amount of the army collected in that province to more than 10,000 foot. In order to mark his strong abhorrence of the cruelties his countrymen had committed upon the English, O'Neill burned down many of the houses of the murderers at Kinnaird, the place where he was appointed general; saying that he "would join with the English rather than not burn the rest." From respect, doubtless,

for such manly feelings, Lieven, when giving up the command of the force, wrote to O'Neill a friendly letter, advising him with much earnestness to return to his service abroad, and expressing sorrow that a man of his great reputation and experience should come to Ireland to maintain so bad a cause." O'Neill answered, that he "had far better reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than his lordship had to march into England at the head of an army against his king." It is manifest that the Scottish earl saw in O'Neill an antagonist not to be lightly encountered; for, during his short stay in Tyrone, he made no movement towards hostility; and when delivering up to Munroe the command of the army, he warned him in words which proved prophetic, that he "would most certainly be worsted if once O'Neill got an army together."

While the confederates were earnestly planning their means of resistance, the bold example they had set in this national union began to be everywhere followed. In vain they endeavoured to keep within bounds the general impulse which themselves had given; all restraint was now cast off, and the entire kingdom thrown into commotion. "All were in arms," says lord Castlehaven; "there was fighting almost in every corner." But the first action of much importance that yet had occurred, arose from an attempt made by the insurgents, under lord Mountgarret, to intercept the march of Ormond back to Dublin, after a hasty expedition on which he had been sent, to burn and destroy the houses and goods of those fugitives who had deserted the county of Kildare. The forces of lord Mountgarret, amounting to about 7000 Irish, made their appearance on the other side of the river Narrow; and, as they were more than double lord Ormond's force, and he had already accomplished his principal object, he continued to pursue his march towards Dublin, without, as he said, seeking the enemy, yet resolved not to shun them if they came in his way.

But the insurgents, having got notice of this inten-

tion, determined at least to watch and harass his march; and, while he pursued the direct road to Dublin, they kept pace with him by another and parallel road in exactly the same direction, and only separated from it by a long and broad bog. In this manner both parties marched in view of each other with drums beating, colours flying, and continued in their respective paths until both roads met. Apprehensive lest, in that pass, the rebels should fall upon his rear, Ormond gave orders to draw up the army in battle array, and the rebel leader marshalled his troops in similar order. But the result was such as had frequently proved disastrous to the Irish. In the wild ardour of their first onset they exhausted their strength and spirit, and, when attacked, they broke at once, and fled in confusion. The English had not more than twenty killed and forty wounded; but of the Irish above 700 were slain on the field, and among them were the lord Dunboyne's brother, the lord Skerrin's son, colonel Cavanagh, and several other gentlemen of distinction.

In England so timely and fortunate was this victory reckoned, that, by an order of the English commons, 500*l.* was to be expended upon a jewel to be bestowed upon his lordship: and it was likewise proposed, in a petition to the king, that his majesty would be pleased to create him a knight of the garter.

That such a scene of strife and blood as this battle presented should have been coupled with gay glimpses of social life and friendly fellowship, will hardly be thought credible. Yet such was the nature of a slight incident which occurred immediately after the battle. The royal army having to pass in the course of its march just close by lord Castlehaven's gates, some of the officers galloped up and informed his lordship that the earl of Ormond would be with him in half an hour. A gay party was there assembled, consisting, besides his own family, of the duchess of Buckingham, the marquess of Antrim, her husband, and lady Röss; and it is difficult to say whether it be painful or consolatory to know that

a party of civilised persons could make themselves happy amidst such scenes. (1)

While in Munster such scenes were passing, we find in another province a picture of a far different kind. The lady Offaley, of the house of Kildare, had now been besieged, for some months, in her castle, and reduced even to extremity. But being at length supplied with means of defence, this noble lady, though far removed from any friendly garrison, resolved to abide in her own castle; and, on receiving a letter from the insurgents commanding her to surrender to them her castle, she replied, with that quiet heroism so often found in women, "I have been a loyal subject, and always behaved to you as a good neighbour. Therefore, being free from offence both to you and my king, I will to the utmost of my power die, as I have lived, innocently. Though desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet, being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

The battle of Kilrush (2) was followed, in succession, by those of Tymahoo and Raconell, in the former of which the rebels, under general Preston, were defeated and routed; and to the latter conflict a more than ordinary interest was attached, as an ancient prophecy had declared, that "whoever won the battle of Raconell should gain all Ireland." But in this engagement, also, the English were successful; and their ominous

(1) We have an account of this curious dinner from the noble host himself which ought not here to be omitted. "Hereupon," says Castlehaven, "I bestirred myself, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines, we platched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at my lord's coming in. But some that come with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published through the army that it was a mighty feast, prepared for my lord Mountgarret and the rebels."

(2) It was in an affair which followed soon after this battle, that old sir Charles Coote, having suggested, at a council of war, that, if they made haste, they might easily pass the dells and causeways before the enemy could muster to oppose them, "but," asked another of the council, "when the country takes the alarm, how are we to get back?" "I protest," answered the veteran, "I never thought of that in my life. I always considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could."—*Cor.*

victory struck dismay into the hearts of the Irish.

In most of this wild warfare the earl of Castlehaven took a distinguished part; and, in the amusing account he has left of his warlike adventures, an incident is mentioned which shows how the evils of civil strife may sometimes be mitigated by mutual forbearance and kindly sympathy. The earl, to meet some pressing exigency, was about to place a garrison in a castle belonging to a friend of his, sir Joseph Bowen, the provost-marshal. To this sir Joseph strongly objected; on which, says Castlehaven, I sent to speak with him; and after some kind expressions, told him I must put a garrison into his castle. He flatly denied me; and, calling for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, desired only one favour,—that, in case I was resolved to use violence, I would show him where I intended to plant my guns and make my breach. I satisfied his curiosity, and asked him what he meant by this question? Because, said he (swearing with some warmth) I will cover that part, or any other your lordship shoots at, by hanging out both my daughters in chairs. It is true," adds Castlehaven, "the place was not of much importance; but this conceit saved it."

Notwithstanding the great successes obtained by Ormond, the affairs of the confederates wore, on the whole, a favourable aspect. (1) Though general Preston

(1) A letter written about this time from Rome, by an Irishman named Bonaventure O'Conney, who dates from St. Isidore's College, and addresses his letter to Phelim O'Neill, in Ireland, may, from its truly national style and spirit, be thought deserving of some notice. It is clear that, even in the midst of all the glories of the Eternal City, O'Conney's fancy was wholly occupied with those displays of oratory and patriotism which he knew were then echoing through the Hall of the Confederate Irish, at Kilkenny.

"Be sure you have a great heart; make some chief head among you; but reserve the crown for Con O'Neale. Remember the old slavery wherein you have lived of long time, and the destruction which will generally come upon you except you get the upper hand. You will prevail if you join together as you ought. God send it. I would advise every chief officer among you to have a secretary along with him, to write a diurnal of your passages, and the overthrows your enemies receive, which will redound much to your glory. Spoil not the country, for fear of famine."—*Rushworth.*

had met with defeats both from Ormond and colonel Monk, he recruited soon after his forces, and took several forts from the English. Lord Castlehaven, his general of the horse, made considerable progress in Leinster; and all Connaught, with the exception of some inconsiderable towns, was reduced by the natives; while the large body of Scots, amounting to 10,000 men, which had landed at Carrickfergus under Monroe, were nearly destitute of pay and most other necessities.

While the confederates were thus gaining ground, the king, driven almost to extremity by the English parliament, turned his eyes anxiously to Ireland, as likely, he hoped, to afford him some resource from whence he might look to obtain supplies of men and money.

But the object of all most essential to him, in the straits to which he was now driven, was a cessation of actual hostilities, a short breathing time of peace; and, in order to attain this object, a truce with the Irish was absolutely necessary. Accordingly, the king sent a commission to the marquis of Ormond, "commanding and authorizing him to treat with his majesty's subjects in arms, and agree with them for a cessation of arms for one year." In obedience to the royal order the commissioners of the confederate catholics presented themselves before lord Ormond in his tent, near Castle Martin; and there his lordship, we are told, sat covered during their interview, while the commissioners stood bareheaded before him.

Their propositions were delivered in writing; and Ormond, hastening at once to the point in which his majesty was most urgently interested, pressed to know from them what supply they would give the king for the maintenance of his army. But on this point the commissioners refused to treat until they had agreed upon the cessation. Ormond, on his part, required some days to consider his answers to their propositions, and to some he gave his assent, with certain restrictions; others he declined answering, and the rest he decidedly refused.

While this negotiation remained suspended, a debt of justice, too long due, was paid at length to those suffering lords and gentlemen of the Pale who had been imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, twelve or fourteen months before, and there subjected to a course of most cruel persecution under the tyranny of the lords-justices. These men were the devoted creatures of the English parliament, and it was said of them that during their rule, "the parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached as gospel." In order to take advantage of that rich harvest of fines and forfeitures which the first months of the insurrection brought in, these greedy rulers adopted the policy of refusing all submissions, thus foreclosing the only hope of mercy left to the repentant; and it is even said that they sometimes exasperated the malcontents in order to render all chance of accommodation hopeless.

To the rapacity of these men the rich and retired region of the Pale would have afforded a fertile field for speculation and rapine, had not the inhabitants of that quiet territory, by their timely submission and forbearance from all hostile acts, procured for themselves a respite from such evils. But this exemption they were not long allowed to enjoy. They had all of them remained secluded in their own country houses, to which the justices had by proclamation banished them from Dublin. Yet even this was not sufficient to sate the spite of their English rulers. In order to punish the Pale gentry for the example they had set in submitting, and thus to warn all others from following such a precedent, the justices now proceeded to act with the most inhuman rigour. One gentleman they racked, and several others were in various ways tormented. In consequence of the informations thus wrung from them, they were all indicted of high treason; their goods were all seized, and themselves, after begging in vain the favour of being bailed, were left to pine in prison. Among the persons

thus treated were the lord Dunsany, sir John Netterville, and several other catholics of high rank; and against these and more than one thousand others indictments were found by a grand jury in the space of a few days. ⁽¹⁾

That even a more sweeping onset of law had been meditated by the justices, appears from the fact that there were three thousand of such indictments on the record; and the nature of the evidence on which they were founded may be judged from a letter read in lord Ormond's presence, at the council-board, from a person who assumed great merit to himself for getting some hundreds of gentlemen indicted, and "laying out large sums of money to procure witnesses to give evidence for the finding of those indictments." Such was the spirit that then prevailed in most of the Irish courts of justice; and thus were their benches, to use the language of another Ormond, "oppressed with the gross and wicked weight of those who ought rather to have stood manacled at the bar." ⁽²⁾

But a somewhat better and wiser spirit began now to show itself in both parties; and the king, by a conciliatory measure which he adopted, contributed much to the spread of this kindlier feeling. The Irish insurgents had more than once implored permission to lay their grievances before the king, and submit them to his consideration; and in compliance with this prayer, his majesty now issued a commission directed to the marquis of Ormond, the earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, sir Thomas Lucas, and one or two other lords and gentlemen, giving them authority to meet and act for this purpose. By the lords-justices this leaning towards mercy was regarded, of course, with

⁽¹⁾ "Above one thousand bills of indictment in two days! Suppose that the jury sat twelve hours each day, from six in the morning till six in the evening, without obeying any of the calls of hunger, it was at the rate of forty-two bills in an hour, or two every three minutes."—*Vindicia Hibernica*, by M. Carey.

⁽²⁾ The Duke of Ormond.

horror; for they saw in it, as they almost confessed "a step towards the peace of the country, and their own ruin." But, though unable to defeat altogether this measure of mercy, they resolved, by some artful expedient, to thwart or embarrass the execution of it. Accordingly, on the day appointed for meeting at Drogheda, the agents of those ten catholic lords who had signed the petition to his majesty, there came a trumpet to the supreme council of the confederates then sitting at Ross, with a safe conduct from the lords-justices, for such of their number as might be required to state in full their wants and grievances to the king's commissioners. In the commission there occurred the words "odious rebellion," applied to the proceedings of these very catholics; and though accustomed to such insolent language from their haughty masters, they had not yet learned to brook it tamely. Under the influence of this wounded pride, a letter was addressed by the confederates to the lords commissioners, in which they say, "We have received an instrument, signed by the lords-justices, in which we observe how it lies in the power of some eminent ministers of the state either surreptitiously to procure from beyond, or unwarrantably to insert in their writings here, the words 'actors or abettors in so odious a rebellion,' and to apply them unto the catholics of this kingdom." They then give vent to their indignant feelings in the following impassioned words. "We are not, praise be to God, in that condition to sacrifice our loyalty to the malice of any; and it would be a madness beyond expression for us, who fight in the condition of loyal subjects, to come in the repute of rebels to set down our grievances. (1) We take God to

(1) In this opinion, the king himself appears to have agreed with his Irish rebels; for we are told that soon after the battle of Naseby, a manuscript copy was found of sir Edward Walker's Discourses of the Events of the Civil War, in which, among several other corrections in the king's handwriting, it was observed that in one place, where the writer had occasion to speak of the insurgents, and had styled them rebels, the king had drawn his pen through the word "rebels," and had substituted the

witness, there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy flung upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man."

This apprehension, lest they themselves, and the righteous cause in which they had embarked, should be confounded with the acts and actors that had so deeply disgraced the first movements of the late rebellion, continued to haunt and disquiet all those who took any pride in the national character; and, under the influence of this feeling, the whole body of the catholic nobility and gentry addressed, at this time, through their agents at Oxford, a petition to his majesty, praying "that all murders committed on both sides, in this war, might be examined in a future parliament, and the actors of them exempted out of all the acts of indemnity and oblivion." But this proposal the protestant agents, who were then attending his majesty at Oxford, thought it prudent to decline; nor was it till the conclusion of the peace, in 1648, that any formal inquiry was instituted on the subject.

Though treated with so much insolence on their own soil, the noble stand made by the Irish in defence of their ancient faith had awakened a feeling of interest throughout all catholic Europe; and at Rome it was not forgotten that Ireland had once been tributary to the apostolic see. It could not, therefore, be doubted that the pope would lend all his aid, both spiritual and temporal, to forward the progress of so holy and catholic a cause. Accordingly, about the middle of July, this year,

term "Irish" in its stead.—*Godwin's History of the Commonwealth*. It cannot be denied that, in the first wild outbreak of the insurrection, some most horrible crimes and cruelties were committed; but as the popular spirit advanced, it redeemed its first excesses, became at every step more pure, and, under more favouring auspices, might have justified the exclamation of an Irish writer,—

"Rebellion! foul dishonouring word,
Whose wrongful blight so oft has stained
The holiest cause that pen or sword
Of mortal ever lost or gained."—*The Fire-worshippers*.

Pierfrancesco Searampi, a father of the congregation of the oratory and minister from his holiness the pope, arrived with large supplies both of men and military stores at Kilkenny. He brought with him letters also to the supreme council, the provincial generals, and the catholic prelates. But the most precious of his spiritual gifts was a papal bull, granting a general Jubilee, and plenary absolution to all those who had taken up arms for the cause of the catholic faith.

The avowed object of Searampi's mission was to establish the public exercise of the catholic religion in Ireland. But, however sanguine were at first his hopes of being able to effect this object, he was soon convinced that it could not be accomplished by enthusiasm alone; but that time, labour, and the devotion of many years could alone promise even a hope of the consummation of such a work. To use his own words, "when a vineyard has thus been left for a whole century to run wild, it cannot all at once be purged of its thorns and tares; but must gently, and by little and little, be brought back to a state of culture." (1)

The arrival of the papal minister at Kilkenny not only added to the scene a new and important actor, but, by the ferment it caused, brought into increased activity all those various and jarring interests of which Kilkenny had become now the arena. Here, among other workers of strife, were collected the agents or representatives of those whose interests were likely to be affected by the king's new and favourite expedient, the Cessation; and among all the opponents to this measure the most vehement were the Irish of the old race and their clergy. Being emboldened, too, by the presence of the papal minister, these staunch Milesians proudly demanded not only the establishment of the ancient worship, but its

(1) *Convien dunque d'usare in ciò somma destrezza e prudenza, perciocchè non si può da una vigna per un secolo intero insalvaticchita sradicare in un tratto gli sterpi e dumi; ma fa di mestieri di purgarla pian piano e di ridurla a poco a poco alla cultura.—Rinuccini.*

restoration in all its former splendour. The position, indeed, in which all moderate and conscientious catholics were placed at that critical period, could not be otherwise than painful and trying. On one side were the friends of the king representing the shame it would bring upon loyalty were they to desert their royal master in his present exigence, or belie those protestations of peace and allegiance which they had proffered to him. "For our own sakes," said they, "we urge the policy of granting supplies to his majesty, which will be compensated by saving the country from all the ravage and ruin of warfare."

On the other side were partisans equally plausible, who, hostile to the king, and distrusting his professions, protested strongly against all those who either relied upon his word or lent any sanction to his new and already condemned measure, the Cessation. But more than all did they profess to pity and blame the wretched people who, in granting to the state such large supplies, put into its hands a strong weapon to be employed against themselves. Besides, "who," they asked, "could trust in the faith or mercy of the king, after the act of which he had been guilty not many years before, when, having pledged his royal word to the earl of Strafford⁽¹⁾ that 'not a hair of his head should be touched,' he yet made not even an effort to save his devoted friend and minister, but left him to perish upon the scaffold?"

But, although such was the bitter spirit by which Searampi and many of the old Irish were actuated, the more sensible and moderate of the Catholic party still adhered to their loyal and pacific declarations, and continued to urge strenuously the expedience, if not necessity, of still supporting the king. Among the most earnest in these efforts for peace were the lords Clanricarde, Castlehaven,

(1). Così ha fatto nel consentire alla sentenza di morte contro il Viceré d'Irbernia, non istante d'aver giurato in contrario.—Rinuccini. In Rinuccini's work this great English name is always travestied into Il Conte di Trashford.

Muskery, and other leading personages; and the result of their deliberations was, that, "considering the insupportable wants and miseries of the army, the great distress of many of his majesty's principal forts, the imminent danger of the whole kingdom, and the impossibility of prosecuting the war without large supplies, they did for these reasons conceive it necessary for his majesty's honour and service that a cessation of arms for one whole year should be agreed to upon the articles then drawn up and perfected." At first there occurred some difficulties respecting quarters, by which the treaty was for a time delayed; but as soon as this point was finally adjusted, the Irish performed their part of the compact by granting to the king thirty thousand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at successive periods, and the remainder in beeves. The marquis of Ormond and the Irish commissioners then signed the instrument of the Cessation, and it was ratified by the lords-justices and council, and publicly notified by proclamation to the whole kingdom.

The first result of this measure in England was the arrival at Mostyn, in Flintshire, of five regiments from Ireland, whose exploits are thus vividly described by a living historian ⁽¹⁾: "Their reputation, more than their number, unnerved the prowess of their enemies. No force ventured to oppose them in the field; and, as they advanced, every post was abandoned or surrendered."

Never, certainly, did any project of which peace was the professed object encounter such a storm of opposition, indignation, and even downright rage, as broke forth throughout both England and Ireland on the announcement of the Cessation; and, still more strangely, the first great burst of this general outcry came from some of those official persons who were the most bound by their position and duty to support the policy of their royal master. For instance, Sir Henry Tichburne, who had just been appointed to succeed Parsons as one of

(1) Doctor Lingard.

the lords-justices, declares, that so disagreeable was this measure to the Irish privy council, that most of them "would run any fortune and extremity of famishing rather than yield unto it." He had himself, as he tells us, set a subscription on foot with the hope to make up such a sum among the members of the privy council as would effect the king's object, "and there should be no further mention of a Cessation among them."

This loyal effort, however, did not succeed; the unlucky truce was suffered to take its course, and, says Tichburne, "was in sincerity of heart as much injured and delayed by me as was in my power." The English parliament saw in it a deep design of the king to draw from Ireland a part of the Popish army to assist him against the parliament, and in their rage at this project, they voted to impeach the marquis of Ormond as a traitor against the three kingdoms. The Estates of Scotland, hardly less angry, declared loudly against the Cessation, and some of the cavaliers were so much dissatisfied at this truce, that many of the earl of Newcastle's army laid down their arms, and the earl himself withdrew from Oxford, affirming that, after he had heard of the Cessation, his conscience would not allow him to remain there any longer." At the same time, twenty thousand English and Scots in the north of Ireland "vowed to live and die together in opposition to the Cessation."

But this explosion of party spirit, though rendered still more formidable by the share which it was generally known the English parliament had taken in promoting it, did not turn the king aside from his favourite project. There soon arose, however, considerable difficulties, which he had not anticipated, and which much delayed and embarrassed his design. For instance, the army had, before the Cessation, lived mostly upon what they forced from the enemy; but this supply being now stopped by the truce, there was nothing left for their maintenance but a sum promised, for that purpose, by the arti-

cles of the Cessation. This also had been so long delayed, that it brought at last but little benefit.

But it was in the allotment of the different quarters that the greatest fraud, plunder, and confusion prevailed. In some instances persons had got secretly into deserted castles and old houses, two or three days before the Cessation, and, taking possession of the lands in which they stood, retained them as their own; so that what they had gained by fraud or violence, they continued still to retain under the pretext of the truce.

Among the many unworthy samples of Irish gentility which the court had begun to import into England, none was so fortunate, in his own peculiar way and style, as that absurd lord, the earl of Antrim, who, having been early initiated into English society, reaped all the benefit from thence of which his vain and foolish nature was capable; lived familiarly with some of the wits and statesmen of his day; served as a butt for Strafford's jests; and is even commemorated by lord Clarendon, as "having desired to be so considerable that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormond." (1)

But a great and sudden reverse soon after befel this flighty lord. When Monroe first arrived in Ulster, at the head of his Scottish forces, the earl, who then had but recently come to the country, sent to proffer his services to the general, and declare his readiness to afford him assistance in securing the public peace. For a short time all wore the appearance of perfect amity between the two parties. But Antrim, though staunch and zealous against the insurgents, was a papist and a cavalier; two reasons fully sufficient in the eyes of Monroe for laying his lands waste and seizing his person. The manner,

(1) The following is Clarendon's account of lord Antrim and his duchess:—"There was at that time at Oxford the earl of Antrim, remarkable for nothing but for having married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham within a few years after the death of that favourite. The earl of Antrim was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding."

too, in which he effected his treacherous purpose, was worthy of the inveterate sect to which he belonged. From Carrickfergus, where his own forces were stationed, he made an expedition into the county of Antrim, where he was received at the castle of Dunluce, by the earl of Antrim, with every mark of hospitality and respect. But, at the conclusion of the entertainment, Monroe gave a signal to his followers, on which the earl was made prisoner, his castle seized, and his houses all committed to the custody of the Scottish forces. In this state of durance the poor peer remained for more than eight months, when he contrived to make his escape from the castle of Carrickfergus, and then was conveyed on foot through Ulster to Charlemont, where he met with a friendly reception in the quarters of Owen O'Neill.

Having resumed, together with his freedom, all his wild and witless schemes, he now openly avowed his design of being chosen generalissimo of all the catholic party in Ireland. He likewise proposed to bring over ten thousand men of that country and faith to serve the king in England. There could not, indeed, be adduced any more pregnant proof of the infatuation that then prevailed in the king's counsels, than his having recourse, at so trying a crisis of his own fortunes, to the aid and advice of this most shallow lord.

But to Kilkenny Antrim especially turned his eyes as the great arena on which his various merits, whether as general, legislator, viceroy, or any other assignable post, were to be duly, and according to his own valuation, appreciated. In order to win his way with the confederates, he did not hesitate to take the oath of association, and was sworn one of the council. With the same convenient laxity, though he had a commission from the king to raise men for his service, he took another from the supreme council to be lieutenant-general of all their forces in the kingdom.

In addition to his own folly, he possessed eminently the gift of making fools of others, and, in all that he

wished, dreamt, or projected, found dupes conveniently ready at his command. His present wish was to be made a marquis, and accordingly that dignity was bestowed upon him; in return for which high honour, he made proposals to the supreme council to send ten thousand men into England, and three thousand to be employed in Scotland. As a worthy crown to all this glory, hopes were held out to him of being created duke of Argyle, if he could suppress the present lord of this name and all his adherents.

Among those displays of public spirit on which the catholics now boldly ventured, none was so striking as the famous Remonstrance agreed on at Trim; a statement which clearly showed that the spirited people from whom it came, well deserved the rights and boons they thus so manfully sought. "The catholics," they say, "of this kingdom, whom no reward could invite, no persecution could enforce, to forsake that religion professed by them and their ancestors, for 1300 years, are, since the second year of queen Elizabeth, made incapable of places of honour or trust, in church or commonwealth; their nobles become contemptible, their gentry debarred from learning, in universities or public schools, within this kingdom; their younger brothers put by all manner of employment in their native country, and necessitated to seek education and fortune abroad;—misfortunes made incident only to the said catholics of Ireland, the most distinguished (their numbers, quality, and loyalty considered) of all the nations of Christendom." (1)

Among the grievances which in detail they strongly complained of, were the penal statutes of the second year of queen Elizabeth; those threats against their religion in which the malignant party in England had indulged, and the cruelties which were there executed on their ecclesiastics; the offensive conduct of the lords—

(1) Carte's Letters, cxxvii.

justices in defeating every effort made by the catholics to convey their grievances to the throne; the oppressive effects of the acts lately passed in England in favour of adventurers;—these and a number of other oppressive grievances they implore of his majesty to remedy, and to appoint for that purpose a free parliament, suspending during its continuance the operation of Poyning's Act. They conclude their long address by declaring, that, "in manifestation of their duty and zeal to his majesty's service, they will be most willing and ready to employ 10,000 men, under the conduct of well-experienced commanders, in defence of his royal rights and prerogatives."

An event that followed soon after, or rather attended, this famous Remonstrance, shows, painfully, to what a condition the whole country had then been brought, as well by the violence of headlong misrule⁽¹⁾ on one side, as by the deep and determined resistance with which, by the pen as well as by the sword, it was met and unshrinkingly encountered on the other. On the very day when the catholic confederates were issuing their fearless Remonstrance at Trim, the marquis of Ormond marched an army to Rosse, where, in the battle that bears that name, he encountered the forces of general Preston, and in addition to the blood and havoc that marked his progress thither and back, left 700 of the Irish dead upon the field.

Meanwhile Kilkenny, that ancient city in which they

(1) In looking back to those harsh times, when such alone were the manner and temper in which Ireland was ever governed, it is some consolation to learn that one illustrious Englishman, the great lord Bacon, may be enrolled among the few who have pleaded the cause of the Irish:—"It is true," he remarks, "no doubt, what was anciently said, that a state is contained in two words, *præmium* and *pæna*, and I am persuaded, if a penny in the pound which had been spent in *pæna*; (which is but a chastisement of rebels, without fruit or emolument,) had been spent in *præmia*, that is, in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity." He adds, as among the surest means of attaining this desirable object, "the keeping of the principal Irish persons in terms of contentment and without cause of particular complaint; and generally an even course between the English and the Irish." Such was the healing policy which, more than two centuries since, this great man recommended to all future governors of Ireland.

had fixed the seat of their government, continued to be the great centre of the confederacy, where all their councils were held, and from whence their orders issued. Here also the marquis of Ormond chiefly fixed his station, in order to watch over the king's interest, and promote that favourite object of his majesty,—a cessation such as might lead to a full and final accommodation. In conducting this difficult matter so as to relieve the wants of the monarch without affording any triumph to the catholics, Ormond exerted all those powers of management in which long practice had rendered him a proficient. Whenever the views of the king seemed likely to give an advantage to the confederates, Ormond joined with the parliament party to defeat those views; and with similar skill he contrived to gain from the confederates supplies of men and money for the king, while at the same time he managed to cheat them of those advantages to which, by the compact, they were fairly entitled, and which the king was ready and anxious to confer.

To those materials of strife and mischief with which Ireland had long been furnished by the feuds of her own two rival races, there had now been added a fresh and further supply; for, at this period, there existed in Ireland four great and distinct parties, 1. that of the ancient or mere Irish; 2. that of the Anglo-Irish (these two forming together the great body of the Confederates); 3. the king's party, as it was called; and 4. that of the Puritans or Parliamentarians. In each of these several parties lay the rudiments of further strife and division. The mere or pure Irish, who, as we have seen, hated most heartily their Anglo-Irish brethren, agreed little better among themselves. Even into their family circles, this jealous spirit found its way; and that distinguished Irishman, Owen O'Neill, was in perpetual strife with his brother Felix respecting the claim which they each of them laid to the earldom of Tyrone. ⁽¹⁾

(1) La quasi irreconciliabile inimicizia di D. Eugenio, e D. Felice O'Neill, tutti due pretendenti alla Contea di Tiron, in caso di linea finita.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when a treaty was set on foot at Oxford, where the king then held his court, for settling the peace of that kingdom; and as, by the articles of the Cessation, permission was given to the confederates to send agents to his majesty, the General Assembly chose for that purpose the lord Muskerry, sir Robert Talbot, and six other gentlemen. The king had written to the lords-justices and council of Ireland to recommend to him persons qualified for such a trust, and among those nominated by them was archbishop Usher. How full of hope and even of confidence were the views with which the catholics looked to the result of this proceeding, appears from the extent of the propositions put forth by them, and which amounted to little less than a total change of the government, both in church and state.

In this trial of temporal strength between the two creeds, there was a party in the king's court attached to the queen and her religion, upon whose aid the catholics sanguinely calculated; and his majesty, besides this domestic influence, was swayed likewise by his eager desire to obtain the assistance of the Irish, which was now become essential to him in his war with the Parliament. Presuming on this state of affairs, and likewise deeming it, perhaps, a stroke of policy to startle the adverse party by the amount of their first demands, the catholics brought forward a series of propositions such as could meet with no other fate than instant rejection. So extravagant, indeed, did these first demands appear, that it was thought "scandalous even to treat about them;" and the Irish agents, deferring to this strong feeling, withdrew the obnoxious propositions, and offered others which they regarded as moderate and reasonable. Of these demands the most important were the freedom of religious worship and opinion, and the repeal of the penal laws against catholics; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's law while it was sitting; the repeal of all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since

August, 1641, when that fatal prorogation took place to which they attributed all the disorders that had since occurred; a general act of oblivion; an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of inns of court, and seminaries of education. It was likewise required that places of power, trust, and profit should be equally and indifferently bestowed on Roman catholic natives; that no person not estated nor resident should be allowed in either house of parliament, and that an act should be passed declaring the independency of the kingdom and parliament of Ireland upon those of England; that the jurisdiction of the Council Board should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and during his government should be disabled from purchasing lands, except from the king. In order to manifest their desire that the barbarities committed on both sides should be punished, and the offenders brought to justice, they proposed that a parliamentary inquiry should be made into all murders, breaches of quarters, and barbarities committed on either side, and that all offenders in these respects should be excepted out of the act of oblivion, and punished according to their deserts.

We have here a striking instance of the slow pace at which right and justice make their way. In these propositions submitted by the Irish to Charles I., are included most of those conditions in favour of religious liberty which our glorious Grattan succeeded in wresting from the English ministry in the memorable year 1782.

The propositions which in their turn the protestant party brought forward, afford a specimen of deep and determined intolerance, which, fertile as the history of creeds has been in such samples, has rarely, perhaps, been equalled. They required that the penal laws should remain in force, and be rigorously executed; that all the Romish clergy should be banished, and their churches and revenues given up to the protestants; that the oath of supremacy should be strictly imposed on all magis-

trates, sheriffs of counties, justices of peace, and practising barristers; that nothing should be done derogatory in any respect to Poyning's law, the great bulwark of the royal power; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved, themselves disarmed, and brought to condign punishment for their offences.

The steadiness with which the two armies that occupied Ulster had continued for so many years, and in the midst of such strife and confusion, to maintain their alliance unbroken, was, considering all the circumstances, not a little remarkable. But there had now been opened a fresh source of dissension in Ireland, by the introduction of that new pledge and badge of religious faction, the Solemn League and Covenant. In vain did Ormond exert all his influence to prevent the officers and soldiers under his command from joining in this wild movement, and quite as vainly was a proclamation at the same time issued, forbidding all persons to take or tender the covenant, as being contrary to the municipal law of the kingdom.

Monroe himself, ever foremost in strife and mischief, had taken the covenant with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus;—a step which prepared the English officers of the royal party for the persecution of all those who did not follow this high official example. Accordingly, there appeared a commission from the two English houses of parliament, empowering Monroe to command all the forces of Ulster, both Scottish and English, and to carry on the war against all enemies of the covenant. There were then in the north a great number of royalists, who, upon learning this state of affairs, had assembled at Belfast in order to take into consideration the sort of answer they ought to return when Monroe should think right to summon them to submit. But they must have forgot the sort of negotiator they had to deal with; for already he had received notice of their intended movements, and having devised a scheme to frustrate

them, was, of course, neither slow nor scrupulous in executing it. Having given orders to the garrison of Carrickfergus, which was then his head-quarters, to be ready at two o'clock the next morning to march towards Belfast, he managed, through the treachery of the scouts to whom the night-watch was entrusted, to have the gates of the town opened to him; and early in the morning he was seen advancing in full speed towards one of the gates, which, before the drums could beat and the garrison be brought together, was opened to him by the soldiers of the guard. This treacherous seizure of Belfast added still more to the distrust with which the English began to regard their old Scottish allies.

While such was the state of affairs in Ulster, the Irish cause was but little more prosperous in that great centre of the catholic confederacy, Kilkenny, where much dissension had lately arisen between the marquis of Antrim and the earl of Castlehaven, owing to the claims put forth by each to the chief command of the confederate forces. This struggle was, indeed, one of the results of the new policy adopted by Ormond for the discouragement, and, if possible, prevention, of the renewal of actual hostilities. With a view to this humane object, he obtained from the king a power of admitting to full pardon, "as regarded both life and lands," all such rebels as should return to the king's service and their duties. This timely use of the sole resource left to the state, in its present emergency, was attended with effects more salutary than even the state itself expected, nor was it long before these effects began to be acknowledged. The Irish agents at Oxford, in writing to the Supreme Council, complained that it was "a dangerous way of breaking the Association;" while others remarked, that "it was the very way in which that great statesman Henry IV. of France broke the Holy League; and that doubtless in like manner the marquis of Ormond intended to ruin the confederacy of the Irish." It was a task indeed that even Ormond felt to be difficult, while the confederates, warned of his

scheme, put forth the whole of their strength and influence to defeat it. But, in the end, his practised skill in managing the Irish at last prevailed, and he succeeded in breaking the force of that power which, says a writer little disposed to flatter the Irish ⁽¹⁾, would have been sufficient, if united, "to crush all the Protestants, and drive all the king's adherents out of the kingdom."

The reader has seen in an earlier part of this narrative, that, soon after O'Neill joined the Confederate Irish, the earl of Lieven, the commander-in-chief of the Ulster forces, significantly warned Monroe, that "he would most certainly be worsted if once O'Neill got an army together." He would hardly however have risked so rash a prediction at the period we have now reached, when so much reduced was the Irish chieftain by a series of reverses, that he at length found himself forced to solicit aid from the Supreme Council, and was furnished by them with arms and ammunition.

He was soon after appointed to the command of Connaught, with every prospect, as he thought, of being made commander-in-chief. But, this high post was conferred on the earl of Castlehaven, and the whole transaction, as told by this lord, in his *Memoir of the Irish Wars*, reflects credit both on the chieftain and the earl. "It happened," says Castlehaven, "that contrary to Owen O'Neill's expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he would be generalissimo, I was the person chosen; which Owen Roe took extremely to heart, as I have reason to believe. However, he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wish me success, giving with it great assurances of his performance, and readiness to serve me to the utmost of his power."

But there had now arrived in Ireland a remarkable personage, the pope's nuncio, Battista Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, a man full of religious

(1) Carte.

ardour, with showy talents and ready eloquence, but little endowed with either sense or experience. This high-born churchman had long panted to distinguish himself by some religious achievement, and to the western Isles of Europe, more especially England and Ireland, his dreams of proselytism were most directed. But the cause of the struggling Irish was that which chiefly enlisted his hopes and sympathies, and he resolved to lend to that people every aid that his purse, presence, and priestly prayers could minister. Nor did he intend, in his pious labours, to trust to spiritual weapons alone, as may be judged from the following statement of his military stores: — He sent before and brought with him; says the account, 2000 swords, 1500 petronels, 20,000 pounds of powder, and five or six small trunks of Spanish gold; and had in his train 22 Italians, besides several clergymen.

Among the secret instructions that had been given to the nuncio, he was to solicit a secret audience of the queen of England, who was then at Paris, and to assure her that his mission had no other object than to sustain and propagate the Catholic faith in Ireland. He was to impress upon her the great advantage that would thence arise, more especially to the king, who, being left in a hopeless minority by his English Parliament, had no other remaining resource than those supplies which his Irish subjects so readily proffered. He was likewise to request the queen to use her influence with the marquis of Ormonde; who, being himself an Irishman, and born of Catholic parents, was till his sixteenth year of that faith, and as some would have it, was secretly Catholic still. (1) Being the bearer of supplies and money sent by the pope to aid the Irish, Rinuccini was likewise directed to inquire the safest channel through which these aids could be transmitted, there being at that time

(1) Ed anche per essere Irlandese, e, come alcuni vogliono, occultamente cattolico, che di sicuro nato da genitori cattolici, fu cattolico fino all'età di 16 anni; poi trasferitosi in Inghilterra.

no merchants in France who had bankers to correspond with in Ireland. These interviews with the queen were to be few and strictly secret, ⁽¹⁾ lest their objects should be suspected; more especially as her court at Paris "was always filled with heretics, protestants, and puritans, who took alarm at the least trifle, and saw in every thing grounds for fear." But the queen, on political grounds, refused decidedly his request, saying, that it would appear as if he had been sent to her, if not to the king, and thus might furnish the parliament of England with fresh calumny against her husband, who would, on that pretence, be suspected of making a secret league with the pope. He was consoled, however, for this failure, by the many kind messages which he received from her Majesty, and which we may be sure lost none of their colouring in his own self-complacent report. ⁽²⁾ She even consented to his paying her a private visit, but this the princely envoy proudly declined. The queen persisted, however, in refusing his solemn visit, through the suggestion of some of the English of her court, who said it would raise a strong suspicion that herself, and the king her husband, had entered into a treaty with the pope; in short, that the nuncio was sent to her; and in her person to the king.

The public event which most excited general attention at this time was, the siege of Youghal by the Irish, and to its result the nuncio looked with peculiar interest, expecting from its success the first-fruits of his holy mission. ⁽³⁾

But this feeling of missionary ardour was somewhat damped by the danger with which he was threatened

⁽¹⁾ Questi colloqui colla Regina saranno segretissimi e rari, affinché la sua corte non ne prenda sospetto, essendo ella contornata da Eretici, Protestanti e Puritani che hanno timore d'ogni piccola cosa, e tutto dà loro ombra.

⁽²⁾ E però dopo i dovuti ringraziamenti alle lodi, favori e concetti che tien di me la Regina, risposi che, etc.

⁽³⁾ S' accordano ben tutti a dire, che si continuava l'assedio di Lockel, la cui vittoria, stimerei gran fortuna che dovesse dopo il mio arrivo esser le primizie degli avvisi, etc.

during his passage to Waterford, when his vessel, which carried but 21 guns, was closely chased by a Parliament frigate, commanded by captain Plunket. But, says lord Castlehaven, who relates the incident, "just as Plunket was ready to lay him on board, to the great misfortune of the confederate Catholics and many other good interests, the captain's kitchen chimney took fire, and to quench it, he was obliged to lie by, and give the nuncio an opportunity to go on shore." For this alarm, however, and one or two minor panics with which he was seized on his way, he was fully compensated by the triumphant reception which awaited him at Kilkenny, where his presence lent a new impulse to all the various contending creeds, feuds, interests, and factions, by which the whole island was at that time convulsed.

But to receive so illustrious a stranger with all the honours his office and rank deserved, the Supreme Council sent three ambassadors, attended by two troops of cavalry, as a guard against the English enemy. There came to meet him also, several gentlemen of the county, among whom were Richard Butler, brother of the marquis of Ormond, the baron Netterville, and many of the leading gentry. To give time for preparing the honours of his reception at Kilkenny, he slept, the night before, at a small town within three miles of that city; and the particulars of his triumphal course, with all the nobility and the young people "coming forth to meet him," is described by himself with very natural self-complacency. The escort by which he was attended in this procession consisted of fifty young students all armed with pistols; and, while the cavalcade rested, one of these youths, who wore on his head a wreath of laurel, repeated to the nuncio some verses which had been written for the occasion. When arrived at St. Patrik's church, he found there assembled all the secular and regular clergy, and likewise the magistracy of the city; and the vicar-general held forth the cross for him to kiss. ⁽¹⁾ He then

(1) Alla porta aspettava tutto il magistrato della città, ed in essa il vicario

mounted his horse, having put on the pontifical hat; and while some of the principal citizens held a canopy over his head, proceeded in solemn pomp to the cathedral. With no less pride he dwells on all the circumstances of his visit to the Supreme Council, and the dignified manner in which he was received by the President, lord Mountgarret; nor, in describing the splendid chair of crimson damask on which he himself was seated ⁽¹⁾, does he omit to remark, that the gold on the chair which he occupied appeared to him of somewhat a finer kind than that which adorned the chair of the president.

One of the king's principal objects in concluding the Cessation, was the power he should thereby obtain, of drawing over to England the army under the marquis of Ormond, for his own support against the parliament. To effect this object, a peace with the Irish was indispensable; and as the removal or relaxation of some of the laws against their religion was the boon they most anxiously desired, a negotiation on this ground was opened with them, which Ormond very reluctantly agreed to conduct. The king commanded him to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it might cost; adding, that if the suspension of Poyning's Act for such bills as might be agreed upon, and the remission of the penal laws against the catholics, would be sufficient, he should not think it a bad bargain.

The insurrection had now reached its highest pitch; and the confederates had made themselves masters of most of the great towns and counties of the kingdom. Abroad, too, so widely extended was the military fame of the Irish, that agents were despatched from France

generale parato mi diede a baciare la croce; e salito ch' io fui a cavallo con la cappa e cappello pontificale, attorno l' aste del baldacchino alcuni cittadini, che vennero sempre scoperti, ancorchè piovesse. Tutta la strada fino alla cattedrale, forse di non minor lunghezza che la lunga di Roma, aveva dalle bande la soldatesca a piedi con gli archibusi.

⁽¹⁾ La mia sedia era di damasco rosso con oro un poco più nobile di quella del Presidente.

and Spain, to obtain for each of these countries a levy of forces from Ireland. The Spanish monarch had lately remitted thither a free gift of 20,000 crowns; and in return for this, the Irish agents at Madrid had offered to send into Spain a body of men for his service.

All this but increased the king's impatience to avail himself of those resources which, though thus open to other countries, were to him alone unavailable, from the rage of rebellion and faction, still rife in Ireland.

Such being the state to which his majesty was reduced, and his lord-lieutenant being too protestant, or too cautious, to advance another step in the Popish direction, the only resource he had left for the attainment of his object, was to call to his aid some more pliant adviser—"one who," to use the king's own words, "would not stand on such nice scruples to do him service;" and this convenient sort of counsellor he found in a weak catholic peer, the eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, whose name is indebted for its inglorious celebrity to those mean and fraudulent schemes of his royal master, in which, unconscious of the low service to which he was lending himself, he became pliantly the king's accomplice, tool, and dupe.

The preparations for this kingly fraud were contrived with no common art. The Irish had, for some time previously, been led by rumours skilfully circulated, to expect that a personage vested with extraordinary powers was about to visit their shore, and to realise some of those boons, both spiritual and temporal, which had so long and so fallaciously been held out to them. Lord Herbert, the chosen dispenser of these graces, was created earl of Glamorgan, and shortly after duke of Somerset, with the promise to his son in marriage of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, and a portion with her of three hundred thousand pounds. He was to receive also a commission to be generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish; and foreign, as well as admiral of a fleet at sea. Invested with these and other such proofs of weight

and influence, he proceeded on his imposing mission to Ireland, where, having first assisted in the negotiation then carried on by the catholic deputies, at Dublin, he next proceeded to Kilkenny, and was there received with warmest welcome by the Irish clergy. He found them, however, inflexible on the subject of religion, and fully resolved to consent to no peace, but such as would leave them in possession of the churches. This, though held to be an enormous concession, the king's representative readily yielded, knowing that such large and seasonable succours, as the Irish were sure to supply, would easily excuse such a breach of instructions.

[A. D. 1646.] Accordingly a treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the catholic Irish should enjoy the public exercise of their religion; that they should retain all such churches and their revenues as were not actually in possession of the established clergy; and that the catholic clergy should not be punished for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective flocks. In consideration of these concessions, the Irish agreed to supply the king with a body of ten thousand men, under the command of the earl of Glamorgan, as their lord-general, and with officers named by the Supreme Council. The Irish commissioners likewise pledged the faith of the Council that two-thirds of the clergy's revenues should be employed for the space of three years [towards the maintenance of the ten thousand men; the other third being reserved for the subsistence of the clergy. In order to aid and sanction his compact with the Irish, Glamorgan had brought with him full powers from his majesty, signed with his own hand and sealed with his private signet, with the view of giving, secretly, satisfaction to the catholics on those points which had hitherto retarded the conclusion of the peace. This had been done, it was added, thus cautiously, because if these concessions were made public, this dangerous consequence

(1) Doctor Birch.

might follow, that the protestants who now adhered to the king would entirely abandon his cause. In addition to the various precautions by which secrecy, it was hoped, might be secured, Glamorgan succeeded in persuading the catholics to divide the negotiation into two separate treaties, one of which was to be private, and the other public. In the public treaty were included those propositions which had been submitted to the king at Oxford, while the private treaty contained in it the concessions relating to religion.

Against this concealment of the religious portion of the treaty, the Papal minister indignantly protested. "What," he asked, "could be thought of such a compact, but that it was made for the sake of private and temporal advantages, and not for the honour and freedom of religion?" He likewise impressed upon them the utter hopelessness of any relief, or even justice, from the English people; and cited to them the words of lord Digby, that the protestants "would sooner have flung the king out of the window, than allowed him to lend his sanction to those concessions." (1) That Charles himself intended to ratify this treaty with the Irish no one for an instant can suppose; as a living historian has pungently remarked, his want of faith was not to the protestant but to the catholic. (2)

But the secrecy with which these negotiations had been managed was suddenly disturbed by a strange incident. Sir Charles Coote, a staunch partisan of the parliament, being commissioned to command in Connaught, had been despatched with a requisition to the English generals of the north, that they should assist him against the rebels, and especially lend him aid in reducing the town of Sligo, the chief seat of their strength. In this he succeeded without any difficulty, as Sligo was

(1) Sapendo che tutti i Protestanti che servono S. M., quando avessero veduto il Re inclinato a confirmare gli articoli di Glamorgan, l'averebbono da se stessi preso per il collo e gettatolo per le finestre.

(2) Hallam.

readily surrendered. But a warlike churchman, Malachias O'Kelly, titular archbishop of Tuam, having resolved on recovering Sligo, collected forces for that purpose; and leading the assault in person, was on the point of gaining possession of the town, when, exposing himself too rashly, he was slain in the thick of the conflict; ⁽¹⁾ and on searching through his baggage a number of papers were found, among which was a copy of the treaty concluded by the earl of Glamorgan with the confederates. The knowledge thus strangely acquired of the extent of the king's concessions to his Irish subjects, spread a ferment throughout the whole kingdom.

It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive a state of affairs more confused ⁽²⁾ and anomalous—more deformed by the worst features, both of savage and civilised life—than was presented by the condition of Ireland at this most turbid crisis. The Scots and the parliamentarians still held possession of Ulster, and had lately taken Sligo; while Connaught was ruled by a triumvirate of presidents;—Lord Dillon of Costello being the king's president; and sir Charles Coote the parliament's; while the titular archbishop of Tuam, lately slain, had been commissioned by the supreme council. In the midst of this strange and troubled scene, the city of Limerick, having separated from the Supreme Council, remained neutral and isolated; ⁽³⁾ and had this policy been the result of a

(1) To this warlike archbishop's character the Nuncio pays the following tribute:—"Per questa morte resta incredibilmente impoverita la Connacia di persone, per quel ch' io sento, d' indirizzo, e di risoluzione per la guerra, non essendovi nè gente di valore, nè molto ordine, o vero unione fra quelli che ne hanno il pensiero. Ma molto più dopo questo successo resta abbattuta la parte ecclesiastica nei consigli e pubbliche adunanze, dove l' Arcivescovo era potentissimo per il credito, e per l' eloquenza.

(2) Of this confusion and its causes, Castlehaven in very few words gives us a notion:—"Some of our own parties," he says, "set up for themselves."

(3) La città di Limerick si regge separata dal governo del Consiglio, come neutrale ed isolata, e quantunque sia cattolica ed aiuti la causa cattolica, ciò non ostante, derivando la sua separazione da private ragioni e dissensioni domestiche, nuoce moltissimo alla causa comune dei Cattolici; perciò si adopri ogni destrezza, moderazione ed efficacia affinché si colleghi colle altre città cattoliche.

love of peace and habits of industry, such an example might have been of inestimable value. But far different, it appears, was the cause of this self-estrangement from the ranks of their countrymen, the truth being, we are told, that so deeply were they always busied in their own factions and family feuds, that not a single thought or word could they spare to the general weal of their country.

But, at the period we now have reached, an earnest desire for peace had been manifested, not only in the British isles but throughout all Europe; and the rapidity with which, once spoken, the call for peace was echoed from shore to shore, proved how welcome was the long banished guest. It is true in some of those cases the welcome was grudgingly given, as if, though peace spoke from the lips, hostility still rankled in the heart. In the peace proposed by Ormond, which proved ultimately the most acceptable, the nuncio "could see nothing but ignominy and infamy," and he protested, not without justice, against the king's scheming project of publishing the political part of the treaty, without the ecclesiastical. (1) He likewise insisted that they should wait for the Pontifical peace made at Rome, the original of which, he declared, "on the honour of a prince," (2)—his usual expression,—should soon be forthcoming. The queen Henrietta likewise had a peace of her own concoction to propose, and called to her aid in this Irish task no less an authority in the art of peace-making than the great Cardinal Mazarin.

To the Irish people it is highly creditable that, notwithstanding all the confusion which prevailed throughout this period, so few instances should have occurred of men deserting the political party with which they had first started. The only instance of gross apostasy that marks this period, was that of Lord Inchiquin, who,

(1) Che la pace Ormonica non si saria pubblicata senza la nostra.

(2) One of this vain prelate's boasts was, that "the Irish made as much of him as if the Pope himself had arrived in Ireland."

though lineally descended from our great Brian Boru, revolted at this time to the Parliament, and, as if to render more signal his apostasy, committed a barbarous massacre at Cashel. Having heard that a great number of the neighbouring priests and gentry had retired with their goods into the church of that city, he stormed it, and put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar.

[A. D. 1646.] As the king had now disowned the powers given by him to the earl of Glamorgan, the treaty of peace with the Confederate Irish, which three years before the marquis of Ormond had undertaken to conduct, was now renewed under his auspices, and, on the 28th of March, 1646, was concluded at Dublin by the Irish commissioners.

But such a transaction between Insurgents and their Sovereign, preposterous as it must be under any circumstances, was, in this instance rendered more absurd by the totally different aims and objects which the two parties thus engaged respectively pursued. The Confederates even proposed to Ormond that, if he would agree "that they might fight on all sides, to rid the kingdom of the common enemy, their counsels in all matters should be managed by his advice, and he should have as much influence over their debates as if he sat at their board."

The luckless Irish, while thus they vaunted, little foresaw what bloodshed and suffering was in store for them. Already had they narrowly escaped the scourge of Cromwell's rule;—an intention having been announced on the part of the parliament to send either him or lord Lisle to Ireland, with the title of deputy, and likewise an additional body of forces from England "to overawe the rest, and subject them entirely to the commands of the parliament." Already had the Scottish general, who governed in Ulster, set an example of that mode of dealing with the Irish, which Cromwell some years after adopted,—having at Newry wantonly put to death sixty

men and eighteen women. With this brutal Puritan soldier the Irish chief had not yet come in collision, nor ever did any two men more widely differ from each other than did the vapouring Scottish general and the quiet, but brave, descendant of the ancient Hy-Nialls, with whom he was now, for the first time, to encounter. But though to the sanguine spirit of the Irish, the very ardour they saw roused around them, appeared in itself a pledge and omen of success, there were difficulties yet to be faced, from which even the bravest might have shrunk. The powerful soldier with whom they had to cope commanded an army composed of the Old British forces and the New Scots: the former being regarded as the very best body of troops in the whole kingdom. To expect that the Irish, prompt and brave as they were, should venture to face such fearful odds, appeared at first to be wholly chimerical. A resource, however, suggested itself, which was hailed by O'Neill himself with the greater pleasure, as, while it served the public cause, it would also afford a most timely and welcome relief to a large class of suffering Irish, whose lands had lately been wasted by the incursions of the English forces into their territories. These people, who were called Creagths, led a wandering life, like Tartars, and now most readily lent their aid to swell the ranks of the national army under the O'Neill.

About the end of May, 1646, this chief, at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, approached Armagh.⁽¹⁾ Monroe, who was then stationed within ten miles of the city, marched thither on the 4th of June, at midnight, with eight hundred horse and six thousand foot. Meanwhile, O'Neill, aware of his advance, had encamped his troops at Benburb, betwixt two small hills. The rear of his army was protected by a wood, and the right by the river Blackwater. Here Monroe determined to attack him, and for this purpose marched thither on the 5th of June, at the head of his troops.

(1) This account of the battle is taken chiefly from Stuart.

He had ordered his brother, George Monroe, to proceed expeditiously with his corps from Colerain, and to join him at Glasslough or Benburb. O'Neill, aware of this movement, had despatched Colonel Bernard Mac Mahon and Patrick Mac Nenry, with their regiments, to prevent this force from joining with Monroe. Monroe himself had passed the river, at a ford near Kinmaird (Caledon), and marched towards Benburb.

As he advanced, he was met by Colonel Richard O'Farrel, who occupied a strait through which it was necessary for him to pass; but the fire of his cannon compelled that commander, after a short rencontre, to retreat. And now the two armies met in order of battle. The wary O'Neill amused his enemy, during several hours, with various manœuvres and trivial skirmishes, until the sun, which at first had been favourable to the Scots, began to descend in the rear of the Irish troops, and shed a dazzling glare on their enemies. The detachment which O'Neill had sent against George Monroe, was seen returning towards the hostile armies. The Scottish general at first imagined that this was the expected reinforcement from Coleraine; but when he perceived his error, he prepared instantly to retreat. O'Neill, however, seized the opportunity with the promptitude of an experienced commander, and charged the Scots and British with the most determined valour. The gallant Lord Blaney, at the head of an English regiment, made a noble defence. He fell combatting with the most undaunted resolution, and his men maintained their ground till they were hewn to pieces, fighting around their beloved commander. Meanwhile the Scottish cavalry was broken by O'Neill's horse, and a general rout ensued. One regiment, indeed, commanded by colonel Montgomery, retreated with some regularity; but the rest of the British troops fled in total disorder. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers, and one hundred and fifty soldiers were taken prisoners; three thousand two hundred and forty-three men were

slain on the field of battle, and many perished the succeeding day in the rout. Monroe himself fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his artillery, tents, and baggage, with the greater part of his arms, booty, and provisions to the enemy. Colonel Conway, accompanied by captain Burke, also escaped to Newry after having had two horses slain under him in his flight. The loss of O'Neill in this decisive battle was only seventy men killed and two hundred wounded.

There had now occurred within a few months three remarkable events. On the 28th of March the peace was concluded with Ormond; on the 5th of May the king surrendered himself to the Scots; and on the 5th of June O'Neill triumphed at Benburb;—the only great victory, since the days of Brian Boru, achieved on Irish ground, by an Irish chieftain, and in the cause of Ireland.

O'Neill survived but a few years this brilliant triumph; and having been poisoned, it is thought, by some jealous enemy, died at Clocknacter.

*Accounts, by various Historians, of the Battle of Benburb.***MAC-GEOGHEGAN.**

OWN ô Neil assembla au mois de Mai ses troupes, qui faisoient une armée d'environ cinq mille hommes d'infanterie et cinq cens de cavalerie ; il se mit en marche avec ce corps pour aller du côté d'Ardmach. Monroe, à la tête de six mille hommes d'infanterie et de huit cens de cavalerie, tant Écossois qu'Anglois, campoit à dix milles de cette place. Informé qu'ô Neill étoit en marche, et qu'il vouloit surprendre Ardmach le Général Écossois fit lever son camp le 4 Juin, et s'avança vers cette ville, où il arriva à minuit, dans le dessein de surprendre l'ennemi. Ayant appris ici qu'ô Neil étoit campé à Benburb, Monroe se mit en marche le lendemain pour l'aller combattre ; quoiqu'il fut bien supérieur en nombre à ô Neill, il envoya ordre à George Monroe son frère, qui commandoit un corps de troupes à Coleraine, à quelques lieues de là, de le venir joindre à Glaslogh près Benburb : ô Neill en fut averti à temps, il envoya aussitôt les Colonels Bernard Mac Mahon et Mac Neny avec leurs régimens, à la rencontre de ce renfort, afin d'en empêcher la jonction avec l'armée du Général Monroe. Ces deux Officiers s'acquitterent de la commission à la satisfaction de leur Général ; ils taillèrent en pièces le corps ennemi commandé par le jeune Monroe, et retournèrent le lendemain à Benburb, où ils partagèrent avec ô Neill l'honneur de la victoire, que ce Général remporta sur l'ennemi.

Ô Neill étoit posté avantageusement entre deux collines, ses derrières étoient fermés par un bois, et sa droite appuyée sur la rivière de Blackwater ; étant averti que le Général Monroe se portoit à Glaslogh, ô Neill fit faire un mouvement à sa cavalerie et se plaça sur une hauteur, d'où il examina l'armée Écossoise dans son passage sur l'autre bord de la rivière.

Dans ces entrefaites les Écossois passèrent la rivière à gué près de Kihard, et marchèrent vers Benburb ; ô Neill envoya aussitôt un détachement sous les ordres du Colonel Richard ô Ferral, pour occuper une gorge par laquelle l'ennemi devoit passer ; mais le feu du canon ennemi rendoit ce poste insoutenable, et obligea ô Ferral de se retirer, ce qu'il fit en bon ordre.

Les deux armées se mirent en ordre de bataille; O'Neill amusa l'ennemi pendant quelques heures par de légères escarmouches et des coups de fusil tirés au loin, en attendant le déclin du soleil qui l'incommodoit pendant la journée; et l'arrivée du détachement qu'il avoit envoyé la veille à la rencontre des troupes de Coleraine. Monroe qui vit arriver ce corps, le prit d'abord pour le renfort qu'il attendoit de Coleraine; mais le voyant rentrer dans le camp d'O'Neill, il s'aperçut de son erreur. O'Neill fit charger alors l'ennemi; il ordonna à ses troupes d'avancer jusqu'à la portée de la pique sans tirer un coup, et de fondre sur l'ennemi le sabre à la main. Cet ordre fut exécuté avec la plus grande valeur. Le régiment Anglois commandé par le Lord Blaney, après une vigoureuse défense, fut taillé en pièces, la cavalerie Écossaise fut enfoncée par celle d'O'Neill, la confusion fut grande et la déroute devint générale: il n'y eut que le régiment du Chevalier Jacques Montgomery qui se retira en corps, tout le reste de l'armée se sauva dans le plus grand désordre. Le Colonel Conway, après avoir eu deux chevaux tués sous lui, gagna avec peine Newry, accompagné du Capitaine Burk et d'environ quarante cavaliers. Le Lord Montgomery fut fait prisonnier avec vingt-un Officiers et environ cinquante soldats; il resta du côté de l'ennemi trois mille deux cents quarante-trois morts sur le champ de bataille, sans parler de ceux qui furent tués le lendemain dans la poursuite. Le Général O'Neill perdit dans cette bataille environ soixante-dix hommes tués et deux cents blessés; il prit toute l'artillerie des Écossais, leurs armes, leurs tentes et bagages, avec trente-deux drapeaux. Le butin fut considérable, il consistoit en quinze cents chevaux de trait et en provisions pour deux mois de toute espèce. Le Général Monroe se sauva avec peine à cheval par la fuite sans chapeau et sans perruque; il fit brûler Dundrum, il abandonna Port-à-Down, Clare, Glanevy, Down-Patrick et autres places fortes; et la consternation fut si grande dans son armée, qu'un grand nombre quitta l'Irlande pour se sauver en Écosse.

WHITELOCK'S MEMORIALS.

The Scots forces in Ulster marched out of their garrisons under Major Munro to fall upon the rebels; all of them were about 3000 foot, and eleven troops of horse. They were informed that the rebels had eight regiments of foot and twelve troops of horse, completely armed. But the Scots would not believe it, nor valued it, but the British forces marched after them. The rebels drew up in good order in a place of advantage, and set divers ambuscades. The British horse drew up so near them that they were galled and retired. Their ambuscadoes made the Protestants retire; and, after some hours' hot dispute, the rebels prevailed; near 500 of the Protestants killed, taken, and routed; five field pieces, with all the ammunition and baggage lost, and about 5000 foot-arms, and most of the officers killed and taken.

The Lord Montgomery and Lord Blaney taken, the Lord Conway had two horses killed, yet mounted on a third, and escaped. Many horses lost, and more wounded.

RINUCCINI.

RELAZIONE DELLA BATTAGLIA D' ULTONIA SEGUITA
FRA I CATTOLICI E GLI SCOZZESI.

Dopo che i due Generali Eugenio e Felice O'Neil per opera di Monsignor Nunzio con generosa reconciliazione ebbero uniti gli animi, unirono anco le forze, e si fece la massa dell' esercito nei confini della Lagenia. Quivi avendo inteso il Generale D. Eugenio, che l' inimico sotto la condotta del Capitano Monroe scozzese stava preparato nel contado di Tiron, fece risoluzione d' andarlo a trovare; e dato ordine che ogni soldato portasse addosso i viveri per sedici giorni, dieda la marcia e s' avanzò sessanta miglia dentro l' Ultonia.

L' inimico inteso la risoluzione dei Cattolici girando verso la città d' Armagh procurò d' incomodargli il sito ed il paese, ed alla fine si trovarono in due campi un miglio vicini all' altro ad un luogo detto Bemborb il giorno di venerdì, ai 5 del presente mese: furono collocate l' ordinanze con grandissimo sapere da

tutte le parti. Gli Scozzesi avevano dieci reggimenti d'infanteria e quindici compagnie di cavalli, seguitate da mille cinquecento carrette fra munizioni e bagaglio, con cinque pezzi di cannoni da campagna. I nostri non arrivavano a cinque mila fanti, e otto truppe di cavalleria, onde si resero tanto più ammirabile il valore dei capitani, l'ardire dei soldati, ed il miracolo della vittoria.

Ma dalla parte dei Cattolici fu notabile la prima preparazione al combattere. Confessatosi tutto l'esercito, ed avendo il Generale D. Eugenio preso con grandissima pietà insieme con gli altri Capitani il Santissimo Sacramento, si diedero le fedi della confessione in mano del P. Eugenio uno dei Definitori generali degli Osservanti, deputato da Monsignor Nunzio alla cura spirituale dell'esercito, il quale dopo una breve esortazione diede a tutti la benedizione Apostolica, e subito chiamando il nome di S. S. s' accinsero al conflitto.

I cannoni scozzesi diedero principio alla pugna, ma dopo molte sparate non restò morto che uno dalla parte cattolica; venuti alla zuffa si combattè per quattr' ore con tanto valore, che non si seppe conoscere da qual parte fosse il vantaggio, ancorchè i Cattolici oltre al numero avessero di più lo svantaggio del sole e del vento contrario, benchè questo sul principio della battaglia con gran maraviglia d'ognuno s' andasse a poco a poco scemando. Alla fine s' accorse il Generale che l' inimico voleva ritirarsi, e ristrettosi speditamente con i suoi mostro loro per diverse ragioni, che la ritirata non poteva succedere senza danno di essi nemici, e però voleva che si seguitasse avanti, promettendo sicura vittoria. Io dissi, con l' aiuto del Cielo, e con l' augurio della benedizione ricevuta, m' invio avanti di tutti: chi sarà di parere diverso, si ricordi che in questo luogo averà abbandonato il suo capitano. Detto questo s' alzò un grido universale dell' esercito, e scesi a piedi tutti i Colonnelli per tagliarsi il ritorno, diedero dentro con ferocia incredibile.

La cavalleria cattolica aprì lo squadrone avversario, e venutisi alle picche e alle spade i Puritani cominciarono a cedere, disordinarsi e confondersi, sicchè alla fine restorno in tutto disfatti e trucidati sul campo, saziatosi di sangue e di preda fino ad ogni soldatello ordinario. Sul campo sono stati numerati i corpi fino a 3243. Degli altri uccisi nelle strade per dove fuggivano, ai passi delle quali aveva inviata soldatesca il Generale, non si è potuto sapere il numero, ma ben' è certo, che

della fanteria son rimasti tutti morti, per l'uccisione fatta sparsamente nei due giorni seguenti, e dei cavalli sono scampati pochissimi. Si è guadagnato il bagaglio, i cannoni, i viveri, i padiglioni, e le spoglie. Il Generale Monroe fuggì ferito perchè si è trovato il cappello, la spada, ed il ferraiolo. Prigionieri sono rimasti 21 ufficiali, tutti gli altri ammazzati.

Dei nostri son morti solamente settanta, e fra questi un Sig. principale Ultoniese, ma venturiere. Cento soli feriti uno dei quali è il Colonello Fenel percosso in una spalla, che si è segnalato fra gli altri con incredibil bravura.

LELAND.

The Scottish general, Monroe, drew out six thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprise O'Neill in his quarters. Here he learned that the Irish army lay seven miles farther, at a place called Benburb, strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed.

On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river in full view of O'Neill, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle: but, instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day, and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, maintained their ground till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with

The loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Irish artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions, were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Neill, when this general was suddenly called by the Nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace, and instantly marched at the head of ten thousand barbarous ravagers; for to this number had his army swelled by the victory of Benburb.

WARNER.

O'Neill having been with the Nuncio in the spring, and received some supplies for his army, at the latter end of May assembled a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, with which he advanced towards Armagh. Monroe having drawn out above six thousand to oppose him, and having received intelligence that the enemies' design was to possess themselves of that city, he caused his army to march thither, with hopes of finding O'Neill there and surprising him in his quarters. But the Irish were encamped at Benburb, seven miles further, strongly posted between two hills; having a wood behind them, and the Blackwater, which was thought difficult to be passed, on their right. But Monroe, finding a ford in the river unexpectedly, passed over, and advanced to meet the Irish. O'Neill amused them with little skirmishes for four hours, till he had got the sun on his back, and till a detachment which he had sent off in the morning had returned. The Scots, who had stood all that time in order of battle without advancing, being much surprised to see such a body join the Irish, began to make their retreat. O'Neill then attacked them in earnest; and having ordered his men not to fire till they were within a pike's length of the enemy, they did incredible execution. The English regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, maintained their ground till he and most of his men were cut to pieces; and the Scotch horse being pushed, and falling in disorder upon the foot, a general rout ensued. Above three thousand were slain on the field of battle, with

inconsiderable loss on the side of the Irish, who took the Scotch artillery, most of their arms, colours, tents, and baggage. Sixteen hundred draught horses, and two months' provisions. Monroe himself fled without his hat and coat to Lisburn, and ordered the whole country to rise; which caused a general consternation.

THE END.

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